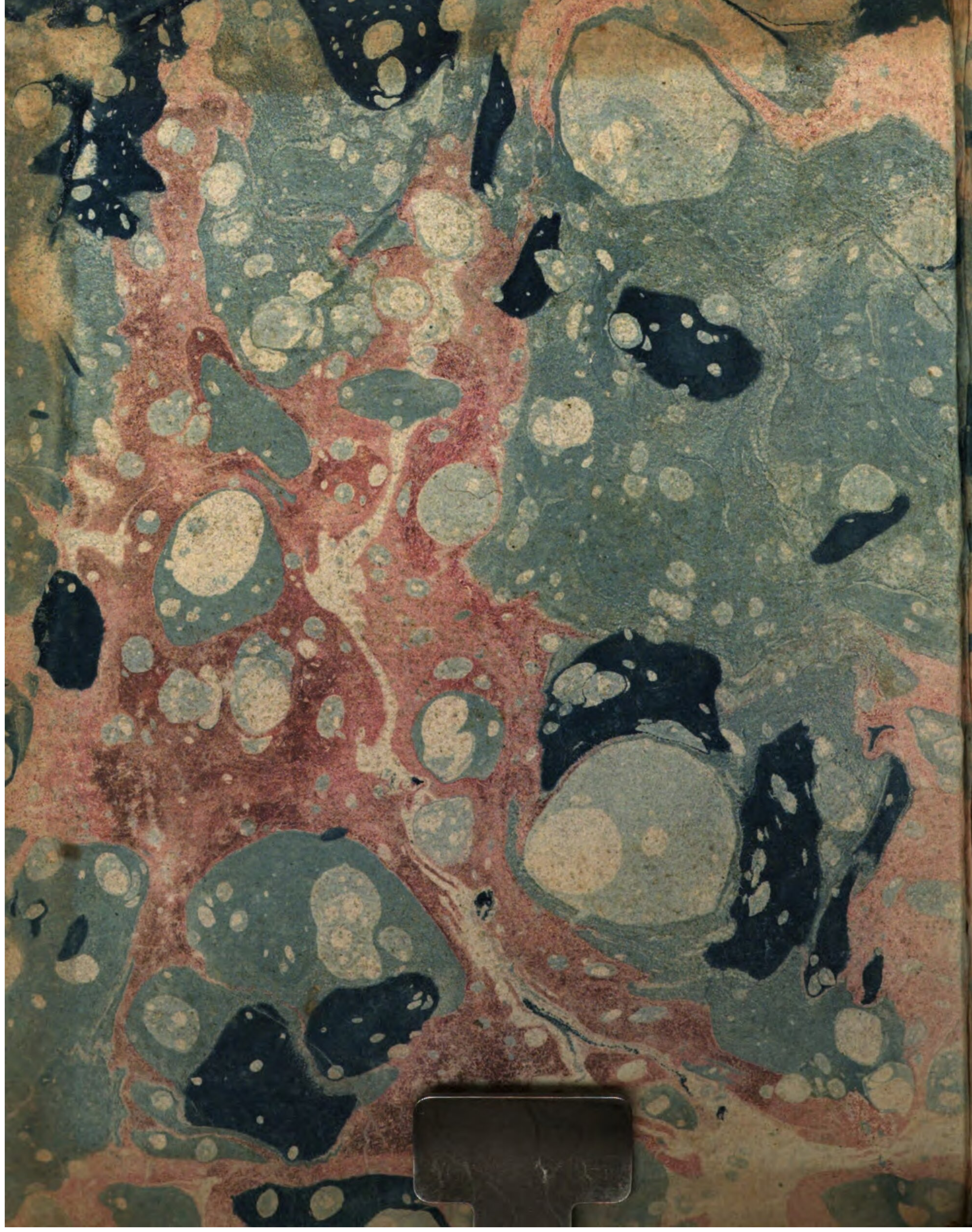








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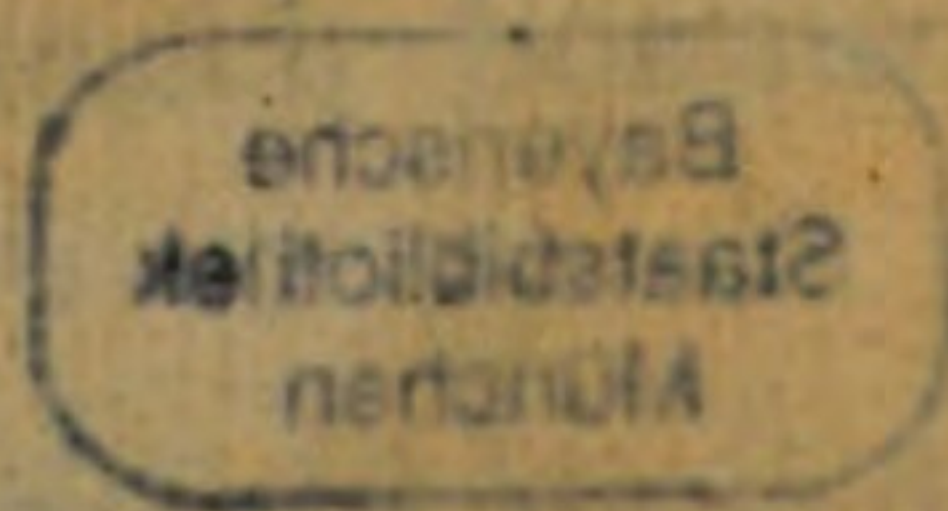


Jas. Oliver pinx.

Ant. Walker sculp.

THE
L I F E
O F
EDWARD Lord HERBERT
O F
C H E R B U R Y.

Written by HIMSELF.



L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall.

MDCCLXX.

THE LIFE OF
EDWARD LORD HERBERT
OF CHURCH
BY JAMES

Written by JAMES

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

Printed for J. D. ... in the ...

MDCCLXX

TO THE MOST NOBLE
HENRY ARTHUR HERBERT
EARL of POWIS,
VISCOUNT LUDLOW,
LORD HERBERT of CHIRBURY,
BARON POWIS and LUDLOW,
AND
TREASURER of His MAJESTY's HOUSHOLD.

My LORD,

PERMIT me to offer to your Lordship in this more durable manner the very valuable present I received from your hands. To your Lordship your great Ancestor owes his revival; and suffer me, my Lord, to tell the world what does you so much honour, you have given him and me leave to speak truth; an indulgence which I am sorry to say few Descendents of heroes have minds noble enough to allow.

DEDICATION.

Hitherto Lord Herbert has been little known but as an Author. I much mistake, if hereafter he is not considered as one of the most extraordinary characters which this country has produced. Men of the proudest blood shall not blush to distinguish themselves in letters as well as arms, when they learn what excellence Lord Herbert attained in both. Your Lordship's lineage at least will have a pattern before their eyes to excite their emulation: and while they admire the piety with which you have done justice to your common Ancestor, they cannot be forgetfull of the obligation they will have to your Lordship's memory for transmitting to them this record of his glory.

I have the honour to be,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

most obedient

and most obliged Servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

SOME years ago the following pages wou'd have been reckoned one of the greatest presents which the learned World cou'd have received. The Life of the famous Lord Herbert of Chirbury, written by himself, wou'd have excited the curiosity of the whole Republick of Letters. Perhaps a less proportion of expectation may attend this it's late appearance. Not that the abilities of the Noble Writer have fallen into disesteem. His reign of Henry VIII. is allowed to be a masterpiece of historic biography. But they were his speculative works, which, raising a multitude of admirers or censors from their acuteness and singularity, made Lord Herbert's a name of the first importance. The many great men, who illustrated the succeeding period, have taken off some of the public attention; for it is only a Genius of the first force, whose fame dilates with ages, and can buoy itself up above the indifference which steals upon mankind, as an author becomes less and less the subject of conversation. Speculative Writers, however penetrating, however sublime their talents, seldom attain the seal of universal approbation, because, of all the various abilities which Providence has bestowed on man, Reasoning is not the power which has been brought to standard perfection. Poetry and Eloquence have been so far perfected, that the great masters in those branches still remain unequalled. But where is that book of human argumen-

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argumentation, where that system of human opinions, which has not been partly confuted or exploded? Novelty itself in matters of metaphysical inquiry often proves, in effect, a confutation of antecedent novelties. Opponents raise the celebrity of the doctrines they attack: newer doctrines stifle that celebrity. This is a truth, which the bigots of Lord Herbert's age wou'd not have liked to hear; but what has happened to many other great men, has been his fate too: they who meant to wound his fame, extended it: when the cry of Enthusiasts was drawn off to fresher game, his renown grew fainter. His moral character recovered it's lustre, but has fewer spectators to gaze at it.

This Introduction to his Life may not be improper, tho' at first it may mislead the reader, who will hence perhaps expect from his own pen some account of a Person's creed, whom a few sottish zealots once represented as having none at all. His Lordship's thorough belief and awfull veneration of the Deity will clearly appear in these pages; but neither the Unbeliever nor the Monk will have farther satisfaction. This Life of a Philosopher is neither a deduction of his opinions nor a table of philosophy—I will anticipate the Reader's surprize, tho' it shall be but in a word: to his astonishment he will find, that the History of Don Quixote was the Life of Plato.

The noble Family, which gives these sheets to the world, is above the little prejudices which make many a race defraud the Public of what was designed for it by those, who alone had a right to give or withhold. It is above suppressing what Lord Herbert dared to tell. Foibles, passions, perhaps some vanity, surely some wrongheadedness; these

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these he scorned to conceal, for he sought Truth, wrote on Truth, was Truth: He honestly told when he had missed or mistaken it. His Descendants, not blind to his faults, but thro' them conducting the reader to his virtues, desire the world to make this candid observation with them, "That there must have been a wonderfull fund of internal virtue, of strong resolution and manly philosophy, which in an age of such mistaken and barbarous galantry, of such absurd usages and false glory, cou'd enable Lord Herbert to seek fame better founded, and cou'd make him reflect that there might be a more desirable kind of glory than that of a romantic duellist." None shut their eyes so obstinately against seeing what is ridiculous, as they who have attained a mastery in it: but that was not the case of Lord Herbert. His valour made him a hero, be the heroism in vogue what it wou'd; his sound parts made him a philosopher. Few men in truth have figured so conspicuously in lights so various; and his Descendants, tho' they cannot approve him in every walk of glory, wou'd perhaps injure his memory, if they suffered the world to be ignorant, that he was formed to shine in every sphere, into which his impetuous temperament, or predominant reason conducted him.

As a Soldier he won the esteem of those great captains the Prince of Orange and the Constable de Montmorency; as a Knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person wou'd have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public Minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when it's Prince disgraced it; and that he was qualified to write it's annals as well as to ennoble them, the history I have mentioned proves, and must make us lament
that

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that he did not compleat, or that we have lost, the account he purposed to give of his embassy. These busy scenes were blended with, and terminated by meditation and philosophic inquiries. Strip each period of it's excesses and errors, and it will not be easy to trace out, or dispose the life of a man of quality into a succession of employments which wou'd better become him. Valour and military activity in youth; business of state in the middle age; contemplation and labours for the information of posterity in the calmer scenes of closing life: This was Lord Herbert: the deduction he will give himself.

The MS. was in great danger of being lost to the World. Henry Lord Herbert, grandson of the Author, died in 1691 without issue, and by his Will left his Estate to Francis Herbert of Oakly-park, (father of the present Earl of Powis) his sister's son. At Lymore in Montgomeryshire (the chief Seat of the Family after Cromwell had demolished Montgomery Castle) was preserved the original Manuscript. Upon the marriage of Henry Lord Herbert with a daughter of Francis Earl of Bradford, Lymore, with a considerable part of the Estate thereabouts, was allotted for her jointure. After his decease, Lady Herbert usually resided there; she died in 1714. The MS. cou'd not then be found: yet while she lived there, it was known to have been in her hands. Some years afterwards it was discovered at Lymore among some old papers, in very bad condition, several leaves being torn out and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible. Under these circumstances, inquiry was made of the Herberts of Ribbisford (descended from Sir Henry Herbert a younger brother of the author-lord) in relation to a

duplicate

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duplicate of the Memoirs, which was confidently said to be in their custody. It was allowed that such a duplicate had existed; but no one could recollect what was become of it. At last, about the year 1737, this book was sent to the Earl of Powis by a Gentleman, whose father had purchased an Estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford (son of Sir Henry Herbert above-mentioned) in whom was revived in 1694, the title of Chirbury, which had extinguished in 1691. By him (after the sale of the Estate) some few books, pictures and other things, were left in the house, and remained there to 1737. This Manuscript was amongst them; which not only by the contents (as far as it was possible to collate it with the original) but by the similitude of the Writing, appeared to be the Duplicate, so much sought after.

Being written when Lord Herbert was past sixty, the Work was probably never compleated. The spelling is in general given as in the MS. but some obvious mistakes it was necessary to correct, and a few Notes have been added, to point out the most remarkable persons mentioned in the text. The style is remarkably good for that age, which coming between the nervous and expressive manliness of the preceding century, and the purity of the present standard, partook of neither. His Lordship's observations are new and acute; some very shrewd, as that to the Duc de Guise, p. 149; his discourse on the Reformation very wise. To the French confessor his reply, p. 170, was spirited; indeed his behaviour to Luynes and all his conduct, gave ample evidence of his constitutional fire. But nothing is more

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marked than the air of veracity or persuasion which runs through the whole Narrative. If he makes us wonder, and wonder makes us doubt, the charm of his ingenuous integrity dispels our hesitation. The whole relation throws singular light on the manners of the age, though the gleams are transient. In those manners nothing is more striking than the strange want of police in this country. I will not point out instances, as I have already perhaps too much opened the contents of a book, which if it gives other readers half the pleasure it afforded me, they will own themselves extraordinarily indebted to the noble person, by whose favour I am permitted to communicate to them so great a curiosity.

THE

THE
LIFE
OF
EDWARD Lord HERBERT
OF
CHERBURY.

I DO believe that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humours must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction; and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfa-

ther, and great grand-father might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples, which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen, and neighbours, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefitted themselves more by them than by any else; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life, which I conceive may best declare me, and be most usefull to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any: And therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me, and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort my self in those things which through God's great grace and favour have been done according to the rules of conscience, vertue and honor. Before yet I bring my self to this accompt, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my Ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way, of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grand-father died, and that my father lived but about four years after; and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that intire knowledge of their actions which might inform
me

me sufficiently; I shall only therefore relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives. *

My father was Richard Herbert Esq. son to Edward Herbert Esq. and grandchild to Sir Richard Herbert Knt. who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little; And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withall very handsome and well compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the church yard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice; for defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries untill a villain coming behind him did over the shoulders of others wound him on the head behind with a forest bill untill he fell down, tho recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cutt through to the Pia Mater of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyffyn, where after he was cured,

* Though his lordship, according to his scrupulous exactness, would set down nothing relating to his ancestors but what was of undoubted notoriety, yet it is probable that he had some memorials of his family in writing; for Dugdale in his Baronage, vol. ii. p. 256, edit. of 1676, quotes a curious passage relating to the family's assumption of the name of Herbert from a manuscript book, which he had seen in the hands of our author, lord Herbert.

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he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed; but he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength, that he returned to his former exercises in a country life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of Deputy Lieutenant of the county, Justice of the Peace, and Custos Rotulorum which he as my grandfather before him held, it is so memorable to this day that it was sayd his enemies appeal'd to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin Tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life beginning first at court, where after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the siege of St. Quintens in France, and other wars, both in the north and in the rebellions hapning in the times of King Edward the 6th. and Queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelyhood which is descended to me; 'tho yet I hold some lands which his mother the Lady Ann Herbert purchased, as appears by the deeds made to her by that name which I can shew; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold under foot at an under value in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father, had my grandfather
I suffered

suffered him. My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains in Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often both day and night to the places where they were, concerning which thô many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather which stuck in the pommel of his saddle, whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner, he shewed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done, whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible than to say he was sorry that he left his better bow at home, which he conceiv'd would have carryed his shot to his body, but the outlaw being brought to justice, suffer'd for it. My grandfather's power was so great in the countrey, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and rais'd by him. He delighted also much in hospitality, as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great family. It was an ordinary saying in the countrey at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt thou wilt light at Black-hall," which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age; his father and himself in former times having lived in Montgomery castle. Notwithstanding yet these expences at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger
sons

sons at the university; from whence his son Mathew went to the Low Country Wars, and after some time spent there, came home, and lived in the countrey at Dolegeog upon a house and fair living, which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also Charles Herbert after he had past some time in the Low Countreys likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheretrix, whose eldest son called Sir Edward Herbert Knt. is the King's Attorney General. His son George who was of New Colledge in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropfy. Notwithstanding all which occasions of expence, my grandfather purchased much lands without doing any thing yet unjustly or hardly, as may be collected by an offer I have publickly made divers times, having given my bailiffe in charge to proclaim to the countrey, that if any lands were gotten by evill means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for or restored again; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner. My great grandfather Sir Richard Herbert was steward in the time of King Henry the eighth of the lordships and marches of North-wales, East-wales and Cardiganshire, and had power in a martial law to execute offenders; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired to himself a singular reputation, as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the paper chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my History of Henry the eighth; of him I can say little more than that he likewise

was a great suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lyeth buried likewise in Montgomery; the upper monument of the two placed in the chancell being erected for him. My great great-grandfather Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook was that incomparable heroe who (in the History of Hall and Grafton as it appears) twice past through a great army of northern men alone, with his poll-ax in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gall, or the Knight of the Sun. I shall besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury or Edgcote-hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands: one is, that the said Sir Richard Herbert being employed together with his brother William Earle of Pembroke to reduce certain * rebels in North-wales, Sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person

* It was an Insurrection in the ninth year of Edw. 4th. headed by Sir John Coniers and Robert Riddesdale, in favour of Henry 6th. This William Earl of Pembroke and his brother Sir Richard Herbert being sent against them, were to be joined by the Earl of Devonshire, but a squabble happening between the two Earls about quarters, the Earl of Devonshire separated from Pembroke, who engaging the enemy at Danesmoore near Edgcote in Northamptonshire, was defeated and taken prisoner, with his brother, and both were put to death, with Richard Widville Earl Rivers, father of the Queen, by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, who had revolted from Edward.

of them at Harlech-castle in Merionethshire, the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars of France, whereupon he said he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made the old women in Wales talk of him, and that he would keep the castle so long that he wou'd make the old women in France talk of him; and indeed as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition, he surrend'ring himself upon condition, that Sir Richard Herbert shou'd do what he cou'd to save his life, which being accepted, Sir Richard brought him to King Edward the 4th. desiring his Highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer, upon this hope; but the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert, that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and therefore might after the representation hereof to his Majesty, safe deliver him up to justice; Sir Richard Herbert answered he had not yet done the best he cou'd for him, and therefore most humbly desired his Highness to do one of two things, either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out, or, if his Highness wou'd not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he cou'd give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life. The King finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withall he bestowed no other reward for his service. The other history is that Sir Richard Herbert together with his brother the Earle of Pembroke being in Anglesey apprehending there seven brothers which had done many mischiefs and murders; in these times
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the Earle of Pembroke thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon the mother of them coming to the Earle of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request also Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the Earle finding them all equally guilty, said he cou'd make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so aggrieved, that with a pair of woollen beads on her arms (for so the relation goeth) she on her knees curst him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make: The Earle after this, coming with his brother to Edgcote field as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother Sir Richard Herbert in the head of his men, leaning upon his poll-axe in a kind of sad or pensive manner, whereupon the Earle said, what doth thy great body (for he was higher by the head than any one in the army) apprehend any thing that thou art so melancholy, or art thou weary with marching, that thou dost lean thus upon thy poll-axe? Sir Richard Herbert replied, that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently: Only I cannot but apprehend on your part, lest the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you. This Sir Richard Herbert lyeth buried in Abergavenny in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains, whereas his brother the Earle of Pembroke being buried in Tintern abbey, his monument together with the church lye now wholly defaced and ruin'd. This Earle of Pembroke had a

younger son which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the Earle of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland with many thousand pounds yearly from the heir male of that house, which was the second son of the said Earle of Pembroke, and ancestor of the family of St. Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place. And here it is very remarkable, that the younger sons of the said Earle of Pembroke, and Sir R. Herbert left their posterity after them who in the person of my self and my wife united both houses again, which is the more memorable that when the said Earle of Pembroke, and Sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward the fourth, at the battle abovesaid, the Earle never intreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's, as it appears by the said history. So that joyning of both houses together in my posterity, ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers, so brave an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the Privy Councell, and executor of King Henry the 8th. who surviving her husband gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily both private and publick prayers, and so carefull to provide for her posterity, that thô it were in her power to give her estate
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(which was very great) to whom she wou'd, yet she continued still unmarried and so provident for them, that after she had bestowed all her daughters with sufficient portions upon very good neighbouring families, she deliver'd up her estate and care of housekeeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her countrey or time, for besides abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever after dinner to distribute with her own hands to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I cou'd say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I shou'd exceed my proposed scope: I shall therefore only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters; and for my mother, after she lived most vertuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she after his death erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances; of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more intirely. My brother Richard after
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he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation both in the wars and for fighting single duels, which were many, in so much that between both, he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four and twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lyeth buried in Bergenopzoom. My brother William being brought up likewise in learning went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself, with that piece which remained, but closing with his adversary threw him down and so held him untill company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after; my brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he dyed young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother * George was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the publick Orator of the University in Cambridge, some of whose English works are extant, which tho' they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin Tongue, and all divine and human literature: his life was most holy and exemplary, in so much that about Salisbury where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than fainted: He was not exempt from

* He had studied foreign languages in hopes of rising to be Secretary of State, but being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became Prebend of Lincoln, and Rector of Bemerton near Salisbury. He died between 1630 and 1640. His Poems were printed at London 1635, under the title of *The Temple*; and his *Priest to the Temple*, in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a Translation of some Psalms into English verse. V. General Dict.

passion

passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry after he had been brought up in learning as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection, after which time he came to court, and was made Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and Master of the Revells, by which means as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and posterity to enjoy: he also hath given several proofs of his courage in duells, and otherwise, being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumus as being born some weeks after his father's death; he also being brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil * Lord General of his Majesty's auxiliary forces to the Princes in Germany, and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, Anno Dom. 1610, where he shewed such forwardness, as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies under the command of Captain Joseph, who in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish ship was unfortunately killed in fight with them, whereupon his men being disheartned, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner (as Sir John Smyth Governour of the East India Company told me, at several times) that they forced the Spanish ship to run a ground, where the English shot her through and

* Afterwards Viscount Wimbledon. See an Account of him in The Royal and Noble Authors.

through so often that she run her self a ground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time he with the rest of the fleet came to Suratte, and from thence went with the merchants to the Great Mogull, where after he had staid about a twelve-month, he return'd with the same fleet back again to England. After this he went in the Navy which King James sent to Argier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they cou'd obtain a prize whereby to relieve the whole fleet; it was his hap to meet with a ship, which he took, and in it to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which it was thought saved the whole fleet from perishing: He conducted also Count Mansfelt to the Low Countreys in one of the King's ships, which being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the Count together with his company saved themselves in a long boat or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolving to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were sent to bring the Prince from Spain, where upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Countrymen, and the Dunkerkers, the Prince who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships to part them, whereupon my said brother with some other ships got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long, that

that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the Prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the King's ships to the Narrow Seas: He also fought divers times with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away: After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command, but finding himself as he thought undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him; in which sul-lain humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St. Martin's near Charing Cross, so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

Elizabeth my eldest sister was married to Sir Henry Jones of Albemarle, who had by her one son, and two daughters; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times, while for the space of about fourteen years she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lyeth buried in a church called near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John Vaughan son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart, by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeas'd and reconciled; he had by her three daughters and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katherine, of which the two latter only survive: The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs male, 'tho not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was questioned. Frances my youngest sister was married to Sir John Brown Kt. in Lincolnshire, who had by her

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divers

divers children, the eldest son of whom, 'thô young, fought divers duells, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire. I cou'd say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularize their lives: I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them. I shall now come to my self.

I was born at Eyton in Shropshire, [being a house which together with fair lands descended upon the Newports by my said grand-mother] between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging it self very much by the ears, whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I shou'd be ever dumb: the very furthest thing I remember is, that when I understood what was say'd by others, I did yet forbear to speak, lest I shou'd utter something that were imperfect or impertinent; when I came to talk, one of the furthest inquiries I made was how I came into this world? I told my nurse, keeper, and others, I found my self here indeed, but from what cause or beginning, or by what means I cou'd not imagine, but for this as I was laughed at by nurse and some other women that were then present, so I was wonder'd at by others, who said they never heard a child but my self ask that question; upon which, when I came to riper years I made this observation, which afterwards a little comforted me, that as I found my self in possession of this life, without knowing any thing of the pangs and throws my mother suffer'd, when yet doubtless

doubtless they did no less press and afflict me than her, so I hope my soul shall pass to a better life than this without being sensible of the anguish and pains my body shall feel in Death. For as I believe then I shall be transmitted to a more happy estate by God's great grace, I am confident I shall no more know, how I came out of this world, than how I came into it; and because since that time I have made verses to this purpose, I have thought fit to insert them here as a place proper for them: The Argument is

V I T A.

P R I M A fuit quondam genitali semine Vita
 Procurasse suas dotes, ubi Plastica Virtus
 Gestit, et vegeto molem perfundere succo,
 Externamq; suo formam cohibere recessu,
 Dum conspirantes possint accedere causæ,
 Et totum tuto licuit proludere foetum.

Altera materno tandem succrevit in arvo
 Exiles spumans ubi spiritus induit Artus,
 Exertusq; simul miro sensoria textu
 Cudit, et hospitium menti non vile paravit,
 Quæ Cælo delapsa suas mox inde capeffat
 Partes, et fortis tanquàm præfaga futuræ
 Corrigat ignavum pondus, nec inutile sistat.

Tertia nunc agitur, quâ Scena recluditur ingens,
Cernitur et festum Cæli, Terræq; Theatrum;
Congener et species, rerum variataq; forma;
Et circumferri, motu proprioq; vagari
Contigit, et leges æternaq; fœdera mundi
Visere, et assiduo redeuntia sidera cursu.
Unde etiam vitæ causas, nexumq; tueri
Fas erat et summum longè præsciscere Numen;
Dum varios mirè motus contemperet orbis,
Et Pater, et Dominus, Custos, & Conditor idem
Audit ubiq; Deus; Quid ni modò Quarta sequatur?
Sordibus excussis cùm mens jam purior instat,
Auctaq; doctrinis variis, virtuteq; pollens
Intendit vires, magis et sublimia spirat,
Et tacitus cordi stimulus suffigitur imo,
Ut velit heic quisquam forti superesse caducæ,
Expetiturq; status fœlicior ambitiosis
Ritibus, et sacris, et cultu religioso,
Et nova successit melioris conscia Fati
Spes superis hærens, toto perfusaq; Cælo,
Et sese sancto demittit Numen Amori,
Et data Cælestis non fallax Tesseræ Vitæ,
Cumq; Deo licuit non uno jure pacisci,
Ut mihi seu servo reddatur debita merces,
Filius aut bona adire paterna petam, mihi sponson
Sit fidei Numen; mox hanc fin exuo vitam,
Compos jam factus melioris, tum simul uti

Jure

Jure meo cupiam liber, meq; afferit inde
Ipse Deus (cujus non terris Gratia tantum,
Sed Caelis prostat) Quid ni modo Quinta sequatur,
Et Sexta, et quicquid tandem spes ipsa requirat?

De Vitâ Cælesti Conjectura.

TOTO lustratus Genio mihi gratulor ipsi,
Fati securus, dum nec terroribus ullis
Dejicior, tacitos condo vel corde dolores,
Sed laetus mediis aerumnis transigo vitam,
Invitisq; malis (quae terras undiq; cingunt)
Ardenti virtute viam super aethera quaerens,
Proxima Caelestis praecepi praemia vitae,
Ultima praetento, divino nixus amore,
Quô simul exuperans creperae ludibria fortis,
Barbara vesani linquo consortia Saecli,
Auras infernas defflans, spiransq; supernas,
Dum sanctis memet totum sic implico flammis,
Hisce ut suffultus penetrem laquearia Caeli,
Atq; novi latè speculer magnalia Mundi,
Et notas animas, proprio jam lumine pulchras
Invisam, Superumq; choros, mentesq; beatas,

Quêis aveam miscere ignes, ac vincula sacra,
Atq; vice alternâ transire in gaudia, Caelum
Quae dederit cunctis, ipsis aut indita nobis,
Vel quae communi voto sancire licebit.
Ut Deus interea cumulans sua praemia, nostrum
Augeat inde decus, proprioq; illustret amore,
Nec Caeli Caelis defint, aeternavè Vitae
Saecula, vel Saeclis nova gaudia, qualia totum
Ævum nec minuat, nec terminat Infinitum.
His major desit nec gratia Numinis alma,
Quae miris variata modis haec gaudia crescant,
Excipiatq; statum quemvis faelicior alter;
Et quae nec sperare datur sint praestita nobis,
Nec, nisi sola capit quae mens divina, supersint;
Quae licet ex sese sint perfectissima longe,
Ex nobis saltem magè condecorata videntur:
Cum segnes animas, caelum quas indit ab ortu,
Exacuat tantum labor ac industria nostra;
Ac demum poliat doctrina, et moribus illis,
Ut redeant pulchrae, dotem caeloq; reportent:
Quum simul arbitrijs usi, mala pellimus illa,
Quae nec vel pepulit caelum, vel pelleret olim,
Ex nobis ita fit jam gloria Numinis ingens,
Auctior in caelos quoq; gloria nostra redundat,
Et quae virtuti sint debita praemia, tandem
Vel Numen solito reddunt faelicius ipsum.
Amplior unde simul redhibetur Gratia nobis,
Ut vel pro voto nostro jam singula cedant.

Nam

Nam si libertas chara est, per amaena locorum
 Conspicua innumeris Caelis discurrere fas est,
 Deliciasq; loci cujusvis carpere passim.
 Altior est animo si contemplatio fixa,
 Cuncta adaperta patent nobis jam scrinia Caeli,
 Arcanasq; Dei rationes nôsse juvabit:
 Hujus sin repetat quisquam consortia saeculi,
 Mox agere in terris, ac procurare licebit
 Res heic humanas, et justis legibus uti:
 Sin magè caelesti jam delectamur amore,
 Solvimur in flammis, quae se lambuntq; foveantq;
 Mutuò, & impliciti sanctis ardoribus, unà
 Surgimus amplexi, copulâ junctiq; tenaci,
 Partibus, et toto miscemur ubiq; vicissim;
 Ardoresq; novos accendit Numinis ardor.
 Sin laudare Deum lubeat, nos laudat et ipse,
 Concinit Angelicusq; chorus, modulamine suavi
 Personat et caelum, prostant et publica nobis
 Gaudia, et eduntur passim spectacula laeta;
 Fitq; theatralis quasi Caeli machina tota.
 Hanc mundi molem sin vis replicaverit ingens
 Numinis, atq; novas formas exculperit inde
 Dotibus ornatas alijs, magis atq; capaces;
 Nostras mox etiam formas renovare licebit,
 Et dotes sensusq; alios assumere, tandem
 Consummata magis quo gaudia nostra resurgant,
 Hæc si conjecto mortali corpore fretus
 Corpus ut exuerim, Quid ni majora recludam?

And certainly since in my mother's womb this Plastica or Formatrix which formed my eyes, ears, and other senses, did not intend them for that dark and noysome place, but as being conscious of a better life, made them as fitting organs to apprehend and perceive those things which shou'd occur in this world: so I believe since my coming into this world my soul hath formed or produced certain faculties which are almost as useless for this life, as the abovenamed senses were for the mother's womb; and these faculties are Hope, Faith, Love, and Joy, since they never rest or fix upon any transitory or perishing object in this world, as extending themselves to something further than can be here given, and indeed acquiesce only in the perfect, eternal, and infinite: I confess they are of some use here, yet I appeal to every body whether any worldly felicity did so satisfy their hope here, that they did not wish and hope for something more excellent, or whether they had ever that faith in their own wisdom, or in the help of man, that they were not constrained to have recourse to some diviner and superior power, than they cou'd find on earth, to relieve them in their danger or necessity, whether ever they cou'd place their love on any earthly beauty, that it did not fade and wither, if not frustrate or deceive them, or whether ever their joy was so consummate in any thing they delighted in, that they did not want much more than it, or indeed this world can afford to make them happy. The proper objects of these faculties therefore 'tho framed, or at least appearing in this world, is God only, upon whom Faith, Hope, and Love were never placed in vain, or remain long unrequited: but to leave these discourses and come
to

to my childhood again : I remember this defluction at my ears above-mentioned, continued in that violence, that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my Alphabet 'till I was seven years old, at which time my defluction ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the Epilepsy : My Schoolmaster in the house of my said lady grandmother began then to teach me the Alphabet, and afterwards Grammar, and other books commonly read in schools, in which I profitted so much, that upon this theme *Audaces fortuna juvat*, I made an Oration of a sheet of paper, and 50 or 60 verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes for going to cuffs with two school-fellows being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lye or any other fault, my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falshood, that being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lye, which I did judge then, no time cou'd ever deface ; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that from my first infancy to this hour I told not willingly any thing that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit. After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eyton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welch tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language, whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thellwall of Place-ward in Dengh-

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byshire ;

byshire; this gentleman I must remember with honor, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any Universities: Besides he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before; when occasion of offence was given him, I have seen him redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent, but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, 'tho yet I confess I cou'd never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion, more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those who having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner of Mr. Thellwall, and certainly he that can forbear speaking for some-while, will remit much of his passion, but as I cou'd not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit in learning the Welch or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a Tertian Ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I staid in his house; having recover'd my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton at Diddlebury in Shropshire, where in the space of less than two years, I not only recover'd all I had lost in my sickness, but attain'd to the knowledge of the Greek Tongue and Logick, in so much that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford

to Univerſity Colledge, where I remember to have diſputed at my firſt coming in Logick, and to have made in Greek the exerciſes required in that Colledge, oftner than in Latin. I had not been many months in the Univerſity, but news was brought me of my father's death, his ſickneſs being a Lethargy, Caros, or Coma Vigilans, which continued long upon him; he ſeemed at laſt to dye without much pain 'thô in his ſenſes. Upon opinion given by Phyſicians that his diſeaſe was mortal, my mother thought fit to ſend for me home, and preſently after my father's death to deſire her brother Sir Francis Newport to haſt to London to obtain my wardſhip for his and her uſe joyntly, which he obtained. Shortly after I was ſent again to my ſtudies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert of St. Gillians was made, the occaſion whereof was this; Sir William Herbert being heir male to the old Earle of Pembroke above-mention'd by a younger ſon of his (for the eldeſt ſon had a daughter who carried away thoſe great poſſeſſions the Earle of Worceſter now holds in Monmouthſhire as I ſaid before) having one only daughter ſurviving, made a will whereby he eſtated all his poſſeſſions in Monmouthſhire and Ireland upon his ſaid daughter, upon conditions ſhe married one of the ſurname of Herbert, otherwiſe the ſaid lands to deſcend to the heirs male of the ſaid Sir William; and his daughter, to have only a ſmall portion out of the lands he had in Angleſey and Carnarvanſhire; his lands being thus ſettled Sir William died ſhortly afterwards: He was a man much converſant with books, and eſpecially given to the ſtudy of Divinity, in ſo much that

he writ an Exposition upon the Revelations which is printed, 'tho some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the Philosopher's-stone, which was another part of his study; howsoever he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to be of a very high mind, but I can say little of him as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried 'till she was one and twenty, none of the Herberts appearing in all that time who either in age or fortune was fit to match her: about this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight and twentieth of February 1598 in the house of Eyton, where the same man, Vicar of married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford together with my wife and mother who took a house and lived for some certain time there; and now having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued 'till I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time 'till I came to the age of one and twenty, having in that space divers children, I having now none remaining but Beatrice, Richard and Edward. During this time of living in the University or at home, I did without any master or teacher attain the knowledge of the French, Italian and Spanish Languages, by the help of some books in

Latin or English translated into those Idioms, and the dictionaries of those several Languages; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in Musick, and to play on the Lute with very little or almost no teaching. My intention in learning Languages being to make my self a Citizen of the World as far as it were possible; and my learning of Musick was for this end that I might entertain myself at home, and together refresh my mind after my studies to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary Education, even from the first infancy 'till the departure from the University, as being desirous together with the narration of my life to deliver such rules as I conceive may be usefull to my posterity. And first I find that in the infancy those diseases are to be remedied which may be hereditary unto them on either side, so that if they be subject to the Stone or Gravel, I do conceive it will be good for the nurse sometimes to drink posset drinks in which are boyled such things as are good to expell Gravel and Stone, the child also himself when he comes to some age may use the same posset drinks of herbs, as Miliū Solis, Saxifrigia &c. good for the Stone many are reckoned by the Physicians, of which also my self cou'd bring a large Catalogue, but rather leave it to those who are expert in that art; the same course is to be taken for the Gout, for which purpose I do much commend the bathing of childrens legs and

and feet in the water wherein Smyths quench their iron, as also water wherein allom hath been infused, or boyled, as also the decoction of Juniper-berries, Bayberries, Chamedris, Chamœpetis, which baths also are good for those that are hereditarily subject to the Palsie, for these things do much strengthen the sinews; as also Olum Castorij, and Succoni, which are not to be used without advice: They that are also subject to the Spleen from their ancestors ought to use those herbs that are spleneticks, and those that are troubled with the Falling Sicknes with Cephoniques, of which certainly I shou'd have had need but for the purging of my ears abovementioned. Briefly what disease soever it be that is derived from Ancestors of either side, it will be necessary first to give such medicines to the Nurse as may make her milk effectual for those purposes, as also afterwards to give unto the Child it self such specifique remedies as his age and constitution will bear: I cou'd say much more upon this point, as having delighted ever in the knowledge of herbs, plants and gums, and in few words the history of Nature, in so much that coming to Apothecaries shops, it was my ordinary manner when I looked upon the bills filed up, containing the Physicians prescriptions, to tell every man's disease; howbeit I shall not presume in these particulars to prescribe to my posterity, 'tho I believe I know the best receipts for almost all diseases, but shall leave them to the expert Physicians, only I will recommend again to my posterity the curing of hereditary diseases in the very infancy, since otherwise without much difficulty they will never be cured.

When children go to school they shou'd have one to attend them who may take care of their manners as well as the School-master doth of their learning, for among boys all vice is easily learned, and here I cou'd wish it constantly observed that neither the master shou'd correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners, for the faults in his learning. After the Alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest Grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenus hath given an example: this being done it wou'd be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin, for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it wou'd be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual: therefore I wou'd have them begin at Greek first, and the rather that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others; so that when you look upon Philosophy, Astronomy, Mathematicks, Medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all Nations. When he shall be ready to go to the University, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him, it being the frail nature of youth as they grow to ripeness in age to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in vertue, with which if once they acquaint themselves they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice, since every body loves vertuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another; for this purpose it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation,

putation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild and rash persons, and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and vertuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think vertue accompanied with ordinary discretion will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puff'd knowledge which would cause him to be insolent and vain glorious, or minister as it were arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief, so that it is pity that wicked dispositions shou'd have knowledge to acuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them, that fortitude which shou'd defend all a man's vertues being never well employed to defend his humors, passions, or vices. I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinary used in the University, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there four or five years, to imploy the said time as if they meant to proceed Masters of Art and Doctors in some Science, for which purpose their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtilities of Logick, which as it is usually practiced, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art tho it may be tolerable in a mercenary Lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well govern'd gentleman. I approve much those parts of Logick which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falshood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophismes, and that which the Schoolmen call vitious argumentations, concerning which

which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of Logick as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of Philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonick and Aristotelian Philosophy. After which it will not be amiss to read the *Idea Medicinae Philosophicae*, written by Severnius Danus, there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book which are not to be found in former writers; it will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius and Tilesius, who have examined and contraverted the ordinary Peripatetick doctrine, all which may be perform'd in one year, that term being enough for Philosophy as I conceive, and six months for Logick, for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attain'd, it will be requisite to study Geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which it will be fit to learn something concerning the Governments, Manners, Religions either ancient or new, as also the interests of States and Relations in amity, or strength in which they stand to their neighbours; it will be necessary also at the same time to learn the use of the Cælestial Globe, the studies of both Globes being complicated and joined together. I do not conceive yet the knowledge of judicial Astrology so necessary, but only for general predictions; particular events being neither intended by nor collected out of the Stars. It will be also fit to learn Arithmetick and Geometry in some good measure, but especially Arithmetick, it being most useful for many purposes, and among the rest for keeping accounts, whereof here

is much use: as for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, 'thô it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much usefull for a gentleman unless it be to understand Fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars, 'thô yet he must remember that whatsoever Art doth in way of defence, Art likewise in way of assailing can destroy. This study hath cost me much labour, but as yet I cou'd never find how any place cou'd be so fortified but that there were means in certain opposite lines to prevent or subvert all that cou'd be done in that kind. It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in Medicine, especially the diagnostick part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it, as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symphomes either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge but much credit, since seeing any sick body he will be able to tell in all human probability whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease, to tell what signes shall go before and what the conclusion will be; it will become him also to know not only the ingredients but doses of certain cathartique or purging, emetique or vomitive Medicines, specifique or cholerique, melancholique, or phlegmatique Constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood: besides I wou'd have a gentleman know how to make these Medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands, it being the manner of Apothecaries so frequently to put in the Succedanea that no man is sure to find with them
Medicines

Medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotique or rare; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and vertue. I have studied this Art very much also, and have in case of extremity ministred physick with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples: Richard Griffiths of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever, and tryed in vain all our country Physitians cou'd do, and his water at last stinking so grievously, which Physitians note to be a sign of extention of natural heat, and consequently of present death, I was intreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known any body for the space of six or seven days, whereupon demanding whether the Physitians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it wou'd not be amiss to give him the quantity of an halle-nut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring that if any thing in the world cou'd recover him, that wou'd; of which I was so confident, that I wou'd come the next day at four of the Clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they shou'd find signes of amendment, provided they shou'd put the doses I gave them being about the bigness of a nut down his throat, which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when to the wonder of his family he knew me and asked for some broth, and not long after recover'd. My cozen Athelston Owen also of Rhue Sayson, having an Hydrocephale also in that extremity that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his

tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, in so much that his Physicians likewise left him; I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretique Rootes, which after he had drank four or five days, he urin'd in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to it's ancient figure, and all other signes of health appeared, whereupon also he wrote a letter to me that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me. I cured a great lady in London of an issue of Blood when all the Physicians had given her over, with so easy a Medicine that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I cou'd give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice; I will for the rest deliver a rule I conceive for finding out the best receipts not only for curing all inward but outward hurts, such as are Ulcers, Tumors, Contusions, Wounds, and the like: you must look upon all Pharmacopæia's or * Antidotaries of several Countries; of which sort I have in my Library the Pharmacopæia Londinensis, Parisiensis, Amstelodamensis, that of † Quercsetau, Bauderoni, Renadeus, Valerius Scordus, Pharmacopæia Colonienfis, Augustana, Venetiana, Vononienfis, Florentina, Romana, Messanenfis; in some of which are told not

* Antidotaries usually make a part of the old Dispensatories; for when Poisons were in fashion, Antidotes were equally so.

† Josephus Quercetanus published a Pharmacopæia Dogmaticorum restituta, 1607, 4to. Paris. Bricius Bauderonus, Pharmacopæia & Praxis Medica 1620, Paris. Johannes Renadæus, Dispensatorium Medicum, & Antidotarium 1609, 4to. Paris. Valerius Cordus, Dispensatorium. Antw. 1568.

only

only what the receipts there set down are good for, but the doses of them. The rule I here give is, that what all the said Dispensatories, Antidotaries, or Pharmacopaeias prescribe as effectual for overcoming a Disease, is certainly good, for as they are set forth by the authority of the Physicians of these several Countries, what they all ordain must necessarily be effectual: but they who will follow my advice shall find in that little short Antidotary called *Amstelodamensis* not long since put forth, almost all that is necessary to be known for curing of Diseases, Wounds, &c. There is a book called *Aurora Medicorum* very fit to be read in this kind. Among writers of Physick, I do especially commend after Hippocrates and Galen, ‡ Fernelius, Lud. Mercatus, and Dan. Sennertus, and Heurnius; I cou'd name many more, but I conceive these may suffice. As for the Chymique or Spagyrique Medicines, I cannot commend them to the use of my posterity, there being neither Emetique, Cathartique, Diaphoretique, Diuretique Medicines extant among them, which are not much more happily and safely perform'd by Vegetables; but hereof enough, since I pretend no further than to give some few directions to my posterity. In the mean while I conceive it is a fine Study and worthy a gentleman to be a good Botanique, that so he may know the nature of all Herbs and Plants,

‡ Johannes Fernelius (Physician to Henry II. of France) published *Opera Medicinalia, et Univerſa Medicina* 1564, 4to. & 1577 fol. Lud. Mercatus (Physician to Philip II. and III. of Spain) was author of *Opera Medica & Chirurgica*, fol. Francof. 1620. Daniel Sennertus published *Institutiones Medicinæ* 1620; and Johannes Heurnius a work with the same Title, 1597. Lugduni.

being

being our Fellow Creatures and made for the use of Man; for which purpose it will be fit for him to cull out of some good Herball all the Icones together with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England, and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highway-side, in Meadows, by Rivers, or in Marshes, or in Corn-fields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on Rocks, Walls, or in shady places, such as grow by the Sea-side, for this being done, and the said Icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every Herb he meets withall, especially if the said Flowers be truly colour'd. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such Herbs as are in Gardens and are exotiques, and are transplanted hither. As for those plants which will not endure our Clime, tho' the knowledge of them be worthy of a gentleman, and the vertues of them be fit to be learned, especially if they be brought over to a Druggist as medicinall, yet the Icones of them are not so pertinent to be known as the former, unless it be where there is less danger of adulterating the said medicaments, in which case it is good to have recourse to not only the Botaniques but also to Gesnar's Dispensatory, and to Aurora Medicorum above mention'd, being books which make a man distinguish betwixt good and bad drugs; and thus much of Medicine may not only be usefull but delectable to a gentleman, since which way soever he passeth, he may find something to entertain him. I must no less commend the study of Anatomy, which whosoever considers, I believe will never be an Atheist, the frame of man's body and coherence of his parts being so strange
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and paradoxal, that I hold it to be the greatest miracle of nature; tho' when all is done, I do not find she hath made it so much as proof against one Disease, least it shou'd be thought to have made it no less than a prison to the soul.

Having thus passed over all human Literature, it will be fit to say something of moral Vertues and theological Learning. As for the first, since the Christians and the Heathens are in a manner agreed concerning the definitions of Vertues, it wou'd not be inconvenient to begin with those definitions which Aristotle in his Morals hath given, as being confirm'd for the most part by the Platoniques, Stoiques, and other Philosophers, and in general by the Christian Church, as well as all Nations in the world whatsoever, they being Doctrines imprinted in the Soul in it's first original, and containing the principal and first notices by which man may attain his Happiness here or hereafter, there being no man that is given to Vice that doth not find much opposition both in his own Conscience and in the Religion and Law is taught elsewhere; and this I dare say, that a vertuous man may not only go securely through all the Religions but all the Laws in the world, and whatsoever obstructions he meet, obtain both an inward Peace and outward wellcome among all, with whom he shall negotiate or converse; this Vertue therefore I shall recommend to my posterity as the greatest perfection he can attain unto in this Life, and the pledge of eternal Happiness hereafter, there being none that can justly hope of an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this Life in Vertue and Goodness as he can, so that if human frailty

frailty do interrupt this union by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting Happiness, it will be fit by a serious Repentance to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest trust to the Mercy of God his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will I doubt not commiserate those Transgressions we commit when they are done without desire to offend his Divine Majesty, and together rectifie our understanding through his Grace, since we commonly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us, wherein tho it will be fit for every man to confess that he hath offended an Infinite Majesty and Power, yet as upon better consideration he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that his Justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence; tho I cannot deny but when man wou'd infinitely offend God in a despitefull and contemptuous way, it will be but just that he suffer an infinite punishment: but as I hope none are so wicked as to sin purposedly and with an high hand against the Eternal Majesty of God, so when they shall commit any sins out of frailty, I shall believe either that unless they be finally impenitent, and (as they say fold ingeniously over to Sin) God's Mercy will accept of their endeavours to return into a right way, and so make their Peace with him by
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all those good means that are possible. Having thus recommended the learning of Moral Philosophy and practice of Vertue, as the most necessary knowledge and usefull exercise of man's life, I shall observe that even in the imploying of our Vertues, Discretion is required, for every Vertue is not promiscuously to be used, but such only as is proper for the present occasion. Therefore though a wary and discreet wisdom be most usefull where no imminent danger appears, yet where an enemy draweth his sword against you, you shall have most use of Fortitude, prevention being too late, when the danger is so pressing. On the other side there is no occasion to use your Fortitude against wrongs done by women or children, or ignorant persons, that I may say nothing of those that are much your superiors, who are magistrates &c. since you might by a discreet Wisdom have declined the injury, or when it were too late to do so, you may with more equal mind support that which is done, either by authority in the one or frailty in the other. And certainly to such kind of persons Forgiveness will be proper; in which kind I am confident no man of my time hath exceeded me: for thô whensoever my honor hath been engaged, no man hath ever been more forward to hazard his life, yet where with my honor I cou'd forgive, I never used Revenge, as leaving it always to God, who, the less I punish mine enemies will inflict * so much
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* This is a very unchristian reason for pardoning our enemies, and can by no means be properly called Forgiveness. Is it Forgiveness to remit a punishment, on the hope of it's being doubled? One of the most exceptionable passages in Shakespear is the horrid reflection of Hamlet, that
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the more punishment on them; and to this Forgiveness of others three Considerations have especially invited me.

1. That he that cannot forgive others, breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself, for every man had need to be forgiven.

2. That when a man wants or comes short of an intire and accomplish'd Vertue, our defects may be supplied this way, since the forgiving of evil deeds in others amounteth to no less than Vertue in us: that therefore it may be not unaptly called the paying our debts with another Man's money.

3. That it is the most necessary and proper work of every man, for 'tho' when I do not a just thing, or a charitable, or a wise, another man may do it for me, yet no man can forgive my enemy but myself, and these have been the chief motives for which I have been ever inclined to Forgiveness; whereof tho' I have rarely found other effect than that my Servants, Tenants, and Neighbours have thereupon more frequently offended me,

he will not kill the King at his prayers, lest he send him to Heaven.—
and so am I revenged? Such sentiments shou'd always be marked and condemned, especially in authors, who certainly do not mean to preach up Malice and Revenge. His Lordship's other reasons are better founded, tho' still selfish. He does not appear a humane philosopher, till he owns that he continued to forgive, tho' he found that it encouraged new injuries. The beauty of Virtue consists in doing right tho' to one's own prejudice.

yet

yet at least I have had within me an inward Peace and Comfort thereby, since I can truly say, nothing ever gave my mind more ease than when I had forgiven my enemies, which freed me from many Cares and Perturbations, which otherwise wou'd have molested me.

And this likewise brings in another Rule concerning the use of Vertues, which is, that you are not to use Justice where Mercy is most proper, as on the other side a foolish Pity is not to be preferr'd before that which is just and necessary for good Example. So likewise Liberality is not to be used where Parsimony or Frugality is more requisite; as on the other side it will be but a sordid thing in a gentleman to spare where expending of money wou'd acquire unto him Advantage, Credit, or Honor; and this Rule in general ought to be practiced, that the Vertue requisite to the occasion is ever to be produced, as the most opportune and necessary. That therefore Wisdom is the Soul of all Vertues, giving them as unto her members life and motion, and so necessary in every action, that whosoever by the benefit of true Wisdom makes use of the right Vertue, on all emergent occasions, I dare say would never be constrain'd to have recourse to Vice, whereby it appears that every Vertue is not to be employed indifferently, but that only which is proper for the business in question; among which yet Temperance seems so universally requisite, that some part of it at least will be a necessary ingredient in all human actions, since there may be an excess even in Religious Worship, at those times when other Duties are required at our hands. After all, moral Vertues are

learned and directed to the service and glory of God, as the principal end and use of them.

It wou'd be fit that some time be spent in learning Rhetorick or Oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with Eloquence and Grace; for as it is not enough for a man to have a Diamond unless it is polished and cut out into it's due angles, and a Foyle be set underneath, whereby it may the better transmit and vibrate it's native Lustre and Rays; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great Understanding in all Matters, unless the said Understanding be not only polished and clear, but underfet and holpen a little with those Figures, Tropes, and Colours which Rhetorick affords, where there is use of Perswasion. I can by no means yet commend an affected Eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that wou'd give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use over-much the common forms prescribed in Schools. It is well said by them, that there are two Parts of Eloquence necessary and commendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business having no method or coherence in it's parts shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibite them to the Understanding. And this part of Rhetorick I much commend to every body, there being no true use of Speech but to make things clear, perspicuous and manifest, which otherwise wou'd be perplex'd, doubtfull and obscure.

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The other part of Oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily, there being no little vigor and force added to words, when they are deliver'd in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull Language relishing more of the Clown than the Gentleman. But herein also Affectation must be avoided, it being better for a man by a native and clear Eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the Lamp or Ink-horn; so that in general one may observe that men who fortify and uphold their Speeches with strong and evident Reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the Auditors, than those who have made Rhetorical excursions.

It will be better for a man who is doubtfull of his pay to take an ordinary silver piece with it's due stamp upon it, than an extraordinary gilded piece which may perchance contain a baser metal under it: and prefer a well-favour'd wholesome woman, tho' with a tawny complexion, before a besmeared and painted face.

It is a general note, that a man's Wit is best shewed in his Answer, and his Valour in his Defence, that therefore as men learn in Fencing how to ward all blows and thrusts, which are or can be made against him, so it will be fitting to debate and resolve before hand what you are to say or do upon any affront given you, least otherwise you shou'd be surprized. Aristotle hath written a book of Rhetorick, a work in my opinion not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero de
Oratore,

Oratore, as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak, neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their Orations but that a middle stile will be of more efficacy, Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, and Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by Moral Philosophy enabled yourself to all that Wisdom and Goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular Actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a publick person, or member of the Common Wealth and Kingdom wherein you live, as also to look into those Principles and Grounds upon which Government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak; so that he that cou'd attain most Wisdom and Power, wou'd quickly rule his fellows; for proof whereof, one may observe that a King is sick during that time the Physicians govern him, and in day of Battle an expert General appoints the King a place in which he shall stand, which was anciently the office of the Constables de France. In Law also the Judge is in a sort superiour to his King as long as he judgeth betwixt him and his people. In Divinity also he, to whom the King commits the charge of his Conscience, is his superiour in that particular. All which Instances may sufficiently prove, that in many cases the wiser governs or commands one less wise than himself, unless a willfull Obstinacy be interposed; in which case recourse must be had to Strength where Obedience is necessary.

The Exercifes I chiefly used, and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the Great Horse and Fencing, in which Arts I had excellent masters, English, French, and Italian; as for Dancing I cou'd never find leasure enough to learn it, as imploying my mind always in acquiring of some Art or Science more usefull, howbeit I shall wish these three Exercifes learned in this order;

That Dancing may be learned first, as that which doth fashion the body, gives one a good Presence in and Address to all Companies, since it disposeth the Limbs to a kind of Soupleffe (as the Frenchmen call it) and Agility, in so much as they seem to have the use of their Legs, Arms, and Bodies, more than any others, who standing stiff and stark in their postures, seem as if they were taken in their joynts, or had not the perfect use of their Members. I speak not this yet as if I wou'd have a Youth never stand still in Company, but only that when he hath occasion to stir, his Motions may be comely and gracefull, that he may learn to know how to come in and go out of a Room where Company is, how to make Courtesies handsomely, according to the severall degrees of Persons he shall encounter, how to put off and hold his Hat, all which and many other things which become men are taught by the more accurate Dancing-masters in France.

The next Exercise a young man shou'd learn (but not before he is a eleven or twelve years of age) is Fencing: for the attaining of which the Frenchman's Rule is excellent, Bon pied Bon œil,
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by which to teach men how far they may stretch out their Feet when they wou'd make a Thrust against their Enemy, least either shou'd overstride themselves, or not striding far enough fail to bring the point of their weapon home: the second part of his Direction adviseth the Scholar to keep a fixt Eye upon the point of his Enemies Sword, to the intent he may both put by or ward the Blows and Thrusts made against him, and together direct the point of his Sword upon some part of his Enemy, that lieth naked and open to him.

The good Fencing-masters, in France especially, when they present a Foyle or Fleuret to their Scholars, tell him it hath two Parts, one of which he calleth the Fort or strong, and the other the Foyble or weak; with the Fort or strong, which extends from the part of the hilt next the Sword about a third part of the whole length, thereof he teacheth his Scholars to defend themselves, and put by and ward the Thrusts and Blows of his Enemy, and with the other two third parts to strike or thrust as he shall see occasion; which Rule also teacheth how to strike or thrust high or low as his Enemy doth, and briefly to take his Measure and Time upon his Adversarie's Motions, whereby he may both defend himself or offend his Adversary, of which I have had much experiment and use both in the Fleuret, or Foyle, as also when I fought in good earnest with many persons at one and the same time, as will appear in the sequell of my Life. And indeed I think I shall not speak vain gloriously of myself, if I say that no man understood the use of his weapon better than I did, or hath more dexterously prevailed himself thereof on all occasions;

occasions; since I found no man cou'd be hurt but through some error in Fencing.

I spent much time also in learning to ride the Great Horſe, that creature being made above all others for the ſervice of man, as giving his Rider all the Advantages of which he is capable, while ſometimes he gives him Strength, ſometimes Agility or Motion for the overcoming of his Enemy, in ſo much that a good Rider on a good Horſe, is as much above himſelf and others, as this world can make him; the Rule for gracefull Riding is, that a Man hold his Eyes always betwixt the two Ears, and his Rod over the left Ear of his Horſe, which he is to uſe for turning him every way, helping himſelf with his left Foot, and Rod upon the left part of his Neck, to make his Horſe turn on the right Hand, and with the right Foot and help of his Rod alſo (if needs be) to turn him on the left Hand, but this is to be uſed rather when one would make a Horſe underſtand theſe Motions, than when he is a ready Horſe, the Foot and Stirrup alone applied to either Shoulder being ſufficient, with the help of the Reins to make him turn any way: that a Rider thus may have the uſe of his Sword, or when it is requiſite only to make a Horſe go ſidewards, it will be enough to keep the Reins equal in his Hand, and with the flat of his Leg and Foot together, and a touch upon the Shoulder of the Horſe with the Stirrup to make him go ſideward either way, without either advancing forward or returning backwards.

The most usefull Aer as the Frenchmen term it, is Territerr; the Courbettes, Cabrioies, or un pas et un fault, being fitter for Horses of Parade and Triumph than for Souldiers, yet I cannot deny but a Demivolte with Courbettes, so that they be not too high, may be usefull in a Fight or Meslee, for as Labroue hath it in his book of Horsemanship, Monsieur de Montmorency having a Horse that was excellent in performing the Demivolte, did with his Sword strike down two Adversaries from their Horses in a Tournay, where divers of the prime Gallants of France did meet; for taking his time when the Horse was in the height of his Courbette, and discharging a blow, then his Sword fell with such weight and force upon the two Cavaliers one after another, that he struck them from their Horses to the ground.

The manner of fighting a Duel on horseback I was taught thus; we had each of us a reasonable stiff riding Rod in our Hands about the length of a Sword, and so rid one against the other, he as the more expert sat still to pass me and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right Hand upon my left Side with his Rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the Body, and he that can do this handsomely is sure to overcome his Adversary, it being impossible to bring his Sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assaillant; and to get this advantage, which they call in French, Gagner la Croupe, nothing is so usefull as to make a Horse to go only sideward 'till his Adversary be past him, since he will
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by this means avoid his Adversary's blow or thrust, and on a suddain get on the left Hand of his Adversary in the manner I formerly related: but of this Art let Labroue and * Pluvinel be read, who are excellent masters in that Art, of whom I must confess I learned much, 'tho' to speak ingeniously my breaking two or three Colts, and teaching them afterwards those Aers of which they were most capable, taught me both what I was to do, and made me see mine Errors, more than all their Precepts.

To make a Horse fit for the Wars and embolden him against all Terrors, these Inventions are usefull, to beat a Drum out of the Stable first and then give him his Provender, then beat a Drum in the Stable by degrees, and then give him his Provender upon the Drum: when he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a Pistol out of the Stable, before he hath his Provender; then you may shoot off a Pistol in the Stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can till he be acquainted with the Pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more Provender: You must also cause his Groom to put on bright Armour, and so to rub his Heels and dress

* Antoine de Pluvinel, principal Ecuyer de Louis treize Roi de France. He published a very fine folio, in French and Dutch, intituled, *Instruction du Roi en l'exercice de monter à cheval*. Paris, 1619. It consists of Dialogues between the young King, the Duc de Bellegarde and himself; and is adorned with a great number of beautifull cuts by Crispin Pass, exhibiting the whole system of the Manege, and with many portraits of the great and remarkable men of that Court.

him: You must also present a Sword before him in the said Armour, and when you have done give him still some more Provender: Lastly his Rider must bring his Horse forth into the open Field where a bright Armour must be fastned upon a Stake, and set forth in the likeness of an armed man as much as possible, which being done, the Rider must put his Horse on 'till he make him not only approach the said Image, but throw it down, which being done, you must be sure to give him some Provender, that he may be encouraged to do the like against an Adversary in Battle. It will be good also that two men do hold up a Cloak betwixt them in the Field, and then the Rider to put the Horse to it 'till he leap over, which Cloak also they may raise as they see occasion, when the Horse is able to leap so high. You shall do well also to use your Horse to Swimming, which you may do either by trayling him after you at the tail of a Boat, in a good River, holding him by the Head at the length of the Bridle, or by putting a good Swimmer in a linnen Waistcoat and Breeches upon him.

It will be fit for a Gentleman also to learn to Swim, unless he be given to Cramps and Convulsions; howbeit I must confess in my own particular that I cannot Swim, for as I was once in danger of drowning by learning to Swim, my mother upon her blessing charged me never to learn Swimming, telling me further, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it, which reason 'tho it did not prevail with me, yet her Commandment did. It will be good also for a Gentleman to learn to Leap, Wrestle, and Vault on Horseback, they being all of them

Qualities

Qualities of great use. I do much approve likewise of Shooting in the Long Bow, as being both an healthfull Exercise and usefull for the Wars, notwithstanding all that our Firemen speak against it: for bring an hundred Archers against so many Musquetteers, I say if the Archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots but two hits for one.

The Exercises I do not approve of are Riding of Running Horses, there being much Cheating in that kind, neither do I see why a brave man shou'd delight in a Creature whose cheif use is to help him to run away. I do not much like of Hunting Horses, that Exercise taking up more time than can be spared from a man studious to get Knowledge: It is enough therefore to know the Sport if there be any in it, without making it an ordinary practice: and indeed of the two Hawking is the better, because less time is spent in it: and upon these terms also I can allow a little Bowling, so that the Company be choice and good.

The Exercises I wholly condemn, are Dicing and Carding, especially if you play for any great sum of Money or spend any time in them, or use to come to meetings in Dicing-houses, where Cheaters meet and cozen young Gentlemen of all their Money. I cou'd say much more concerning all these points of Education, and particularly concerning the discreet Civility which is to be observed in Communication either with Friends or Strangers, but this Work wou'd grow too big, and that many

Precepts

Precepts conducing thereunto may be had in Guazzo de la Civile Conversation and Galeteus de Moribus.

It wou'd also deserve a particular Lecture or Recherche, how one ought to behave himself with Children, Servants, Tenants and Neighbours; and I am confident that Precepts in this Point will be found more usefull to young Gentlemen, than all the Subtilities of Schools: I confess I have collected many things to this purpose, which I forbear to set down here, because (if God grant me Life and Health) I intend to make a little Treatise concerning these Points; I shall return now to the Narration of mine own History.

When I had attained the age betwixt 18 or 19 years, my mother together with my self and wife removed up to London, where we took house and kept a greater family, than became either my mother's widow's Estate, or such young beginners as we were, especially since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having made either no Will or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother 'tho she had all my father's Leases and Goods which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burthen of providing for my brothers and sisters, which to gratify my mother as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far as to give my six brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly during their lives, and my three sisters 1000*l.* a piece, which Portions married them to those I have above-mentioned; my younger sister indeed might have been married to a far greater fortune,

fortune, had not the overthwartness of some Neighbours interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600 I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex related in our History followed, which I had rather were seen in the writers of that Argument, than here. Not long after this, Curiosity rather than Ambition brought me to Court; and as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the Presence Chamber when she passed by to the Chappel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me she stopt, and swearing her usual Oath demanded, who is this? Every body there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, 'till Sir James Croft, a Pensioner, finding the Queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St. Gillian's daughter: the Queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary Oath, said it is pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that from that time untill King James's coming to the Crown, I had a son which died shortly afterwards, and that I intended my Studies seriously, the more I learnt out of my Books, adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged King, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his Majesty at Burley near Stanford; shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the
usual

usual Ceremonies belonging to that ancient Order. I cou'd tell how much my Person was commended by the Lords and Ladies that came to see the Solemnity then used, but I shall flatter my self too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient Custom, being that some principal Person was to put on the right Spur of those the King had appointed to receive that dignity; the Earl of Shrewsbury seeing my Esquire there with my Spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me and said, Cozen, I believe you will be a good Knight and therefore I will put on your Spur, whereupon after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my Spur.

There is another Custom likewise, that the Knights the first day wear the gown of some Religious Order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an Oath never to sit in place where Injustice shou'd be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power, and particularly Ladies and Gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their Honour, if they demand Assistance, and many other Points, not unlike the Romances of Knight Errand.

The second day to wear Robes of Crimson Taffita (in which habit I am painted in my Study) and so to ride from St. James's to Whitehall with our Esquires before us, and the third day to wear a Gown of Purple Sattin, upon the left Sleeve whereof is fastned certain Strings weaved of white Silk and Gold tied in a knot,

a knot, and tassells to it of the same, which all the Knights are obliged to wear untill they have done something famous in Arms, or 'till some Lady of Honour take it off, and fasten it on her Sleeve, saying I will answer he shall prove a good Knight. I had not long worn this String but a principal Lady of the Court, and certainly in most men's opinion, the handsomest *, took mine off, and said she wou'd pledge her Honor for mine; I do not name this Lady because some passages happened afterwards which oblige me to Silence, 'tho nothing cou'd be justly said to her prejudice, or wrong.

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles Earl of Nottingham the Lord Admiral, who went to Spain to take the King's Oath for confirmation of the Articles of Peace betwixt the two Crowns; howbeit by the Industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindred, and instead of going that Voyage, was made Sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of under Sheriff, as also other places in my gifts freely, without either taking Gift or Reward; which Custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my Life; in so much that when I was Ambassador in France and might have had great Presents, which former Ambassadors accepted, for doing lawfull Courtesies to Merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, cou'd ever be fast'ned upon me.

* It is impossible perhaps at this distance of time to ascertain who this Lady was, but there is no doubt of it being the same person mentioned afterwards, whom he calls the Fairest of her time.

This publick Duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved Studies in a Country Life for the most part; 'tho sometimes also I resorted to Court, without yet that I had any Ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt Delights incident to the times: for living with my wife in all conjugall Loyalty for the space of about ten years after my Marriage, I wholly declined the Allurements and Temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my Marriage Bed.

About the year 1608 my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florance, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born, and come to so much maturity, that 'tho in their meer Childhood they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding how she liked them, to which she answering, well; I demanded then whether she was willing to do so much for them as I wou'd; whereupon she replying demanded what I meant by that, I told her that for my part I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman, that our Lives were in the hands of God, that if he pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have Children by some other, to which our Estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof I thought fit to motion to her, that if she wou'd assure upon the son any quantity of Lands from 300*l.* a year to 1000*l.* I wou'd do the like; but my wife not approving hereof, answered in these exprefs words, that she wou'd not draw the Cradle upon her head; whereupon I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days respite for that purpose, she

she seem'd to depart from me not very well contented. About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made, to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point; I told her then that I shou'd make another motion to her, which was that in regard I was too young to go beyond Sea before I married her, she now wou'd give me leave for a while to see foreign Countries; howbeit if she wou'd assure her lands as I wou'd mine, in the manner above-mentioned, I wou'd never depart from her; she answered that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she shou'd be sorry I went beyond Sea, never the less, if I wou'd needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a Licence taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay, for a Journey beyond Sea, that so I might satisfy that Curiosity I long since had to see foreign Countrys: so that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I cou'd, I left her not only Posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Gillian's, according to her father's desire to inherit his Lands, but the Rents of all the Lands she brought with her, reserving mine own partly to pay my brothers and sisters Portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition to attain the knowledge of foreign Countries, especially since I had in great part already attained the Languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my Country.

Before I departed yet I left her with child of a son, christned afterwards by the name of Edward; and now coming to Court, I obtained a Licence to go beyond Sea, taking with me for my Companion Mr. Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the Languages of French, Italian and Spanish in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber who spoke French, two Lackeys, and three Horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the Seas thence to Calais, I journied without any memorable adventure, 'till I came to Fauxbourg St. Germans in Paris, where Sir George Carew then Ambassador for the King lived; I was kindly receiv'd by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Vantadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, grand Conestable de France; many visits being exchanged between that Dutcheß and the Lady of our Ambassador, it pleased the Dutcheß to invite me to her father's house, at the Castle of Merlou, being about 24 miles from Paris: and here I found much welcome from that brave old *General, who being inform'd of my name, said he knew well of what family I was, telling the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the Siege of St. Quintence, where my grand-

* Henry de Montmorency, second son of the great Constable Anne de Montmorency who was killed at the battle of St. Denis 1567, and brother of Duke Francis, another renowned Warrior and Statesman. Henry was no less distinguished in both capacities, and gained great glory at the battles of Dreux and St. Denis. He was made Constable by Henry 4th, tho' he cou'd neither read nor write, and died in the habit of St. Francis 1614. He was father of the gallant but unfortunate Duke Henry, the last.

grandfather with a command of Foot under William Earl of Pembroke was. Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening that a daughter of the Dutcheſs of about 10 or 11 years of age, going one evening from the Caſtle to walk in the Meadows, my ſelf with divers French Gentlemen attended her and ſome Gentlewomen that were with her; this young Lady wearing a knot of Ribband on her head, a French Chevalier took it ſuddainly and faſtned it to his hatband; the young lady offended herewith demands her Ribband, but he refuſing to reſtore it, the young Lady addreſſing herſelf to me, ſaid Monſieur, I pray get my Ribband from that gentleman; hereupon going towards him, I courteouſly, with my hat in my hand, deſired him to do me the honor that I may deliver the Lady her Ribband or Bouquet again; but he roughly anſwering me, Do you think I will give it you, when I have refuſed it to her? I replied, nay then Sir I will make you reſtore it by force, whereupon alſo putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to ſave himſelf ran away, and after a long courſe in the Meadow finding that I had almoſt overtook him, he turned ſhort, and running to the young Lady was about to put the Ribband on her hand, when I ſeizing upon his arm, ſaid to the young Lady, it was I that gave it. Pardon me, quoth ſhe, it is he that gives it me: I ſaid then, Madam, I will not contradict you, but if he dare ſay that I did not conſtrain him to give it, I will fight laſt of that illuſtrious and ancient line, who took for their Motto, Dieu ayde au premier Chretien! The Dutcheſs of Ventadour, mentioned above, was Margaret, ſecond daughter of the Conſtable, and wife of Anne de Levi Duke of Ventadour.

with him. The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young Lady again to the Castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French Cavalier that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the Ribband, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this Challenge, went out from the place, whereupon I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the Constable taking notice hereof acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French Cavalier, checked him well for his Sauciness, in taking the Ribband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner because I thought my self obliged thereunto by the oath * taken when I was made Knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also that three other times I engaged my self to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured Ladies and Gentlewomen, one was in defence of my cozen Sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker of

* This Oath is one remnant of a superstitious and romantic Age, which an Age, calling itself enlightened, still retains. The solemn service at the investiture of Knights, which has not the least connection with any thing holy, is a piece of the same profane Pageantry. The Oath being no longer supposed to bind, it is strange mockery to invoke Heaven on so trifling an occasion. It wou'd be more strange if every Knight, like the too conscientious Lord Herbert, thought himself bound to cut a man's throat every time a Miss lost her topknot!

Hamon, whose younger brother and heir † * *
 * * * * *

sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered, and wou'd have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle Sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Captain Vaughan, who I conceiv'd offered some Injury to my sister the Lady Jones of Abarmarlas: I sent him a Challenge which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides; hereupon I coming to the King's Head in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least an hundred persons, partly sent by the Lords of the Privy Counsell, who gave order to apprehend me, I hearing thereof desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he cou'd from my lodging, but yet within sight of me; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cozen James Price of Hanachly, sallyed out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and in spight of that multitude made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who wou'd have laid hands upon us, while we got up on horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil treated, which I perceiving rid back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go any where rather than to follow me; riding afterwards

† This space is left blank, because there is certainly something wanting in the original.

with

with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there, which as I heard afterwards, happened because the Lords of the Counsell taking notice of this difference apprehended him, and charged him in his Majesty's name not to fight with me, since otherwise I believed he wou'd not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a Ribband in the like manner from Mrs. Middlemore a Maid of Honor, as was done from the young Lady above-mentioned, in a back room behind Queen Ann's lodgings in Greenwich; she likewise desired me to get her the said Ribband, I repaired as formerly to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French Cavalier did, I caught him by the Neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us; I offer'd likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hide-Park, but this also was interrupted by order of the Lords of the Counsell, and I never heard more of him.

These passages tho' different in time I have related here together, both for the similitude of Argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held my self to my Oath of Knighthood; since for the rest I can truly say, that tho' I have lived in the Armies and Courts of the greatest Princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with man for mine own sake, so that altho' in mine own nature I was ever cholerick and hasty, yet I never without occasion given quarrelled with any body, and as little did any body attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a
Reputation

Reputation for my Courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded my self, but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hateing ever the doing of Injury, contenting my self only to resent them when they were offer'd me. After this digression I shall return to my History.

That brave Constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said he left that Castle to be commanded by me, as also his Forests and Chases which were well stored with wild Boar and Stag, and that I might hunt them when I pleased: He told me also that if I wou'd learn to ride the great Horse, he had a Stable there of some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France, and that his Escuyer called Monsieur de Disancour nor inferior to Pluvenel or Labrove shou'd teach me. I did with great thankfullness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great Horses; and as for hunting in his Forests I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his Game; he commanded also his Escuyer to keep a Table for me, and his Pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Mennon, who proving to be one of the best Horsemen in France, keeps now an Academy in Paris; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear, there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duell;

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Mennon

Mennon desiring to marry a neece of Monsieur Disancour, who it was thought shou'd be his heir, was thus answered by him; Friend, it is not time yet to marry, I will tell you what you must do; if you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry and ingender two or three children, or the World will neither have got nor lost by you; of which strange counsell Disancour was no otherwise the Author than as he had been an example at least of the former part, it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duells in his time.

And now as every morning I mounted the great Horse, so in the afternoons I many times went a Hunting, the manner of which was this: The Duke of Montmorency having given order to the Tenants of the Town of Merlou, and some Villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a Hunting, they upon my Summons usually repaired to those Woods where I intended to find my Game, with Drums and Musquets, to the number of 60 or 80, and sometimes 100 or more persons, they entring the Wood on that side with that noyse, discharging their pieces and beating their said Drums, we on the other side of the said Wood having placed Mastiffs and Grey-Hounds to the number of 20 or 30, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his Castle, expected those beasts they shou'd force out of the Wood; if Stags or Wild Boars came forth we commonly spared them pursuing only the Wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts; the Mastiff Wolf thick and short, tho he cou'd not indeed run fast, yet wou'd fight with our Dogs; the Grey-

Grey-Hound Wolf long and swift, who many times escaped our best Dogs, 'thô when he were overtaken easily killed by us, without making much resistance; of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword, while I staid there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a Wild Boar in this manner; the Boar being rouzed from his den fled before our Dogs for a good space, but finding them press him hard turned his head against our Dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously, I came on Horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it shou'd be; the Boar hereupon turned upon me, and much endanger'd my Horse, which I perceiving rid a little out of the way, and leaving my Horse with my Lacky, return'd with my sword against the Boar, who by this time had hurt more Dogs, and here happened a pretty kind of Fight, for when I thrust at the Boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the Boar wou'd run at me, whose Tusks yet by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the Dogs came in, and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving ran at the Boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the Dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the Boar. At this Chace Monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr. Townsend, yet so as they did endeavour rather to withdraw me from than assist me in the danger. Of which Boar some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to

my uncle Sir Francis Newport in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having past a whole Summer, partly in these exercises, and partly in visits of the Duke of Montmorency at his fair house in Chantilly, which for its extraordinary fairness and situation I shall here describe :

A little River descending from some higher grounds in a Country which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a Rock in the middle of a Valley, which to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the Ancestors of the Montmorencys to ease the River of this labour, made divers Channels through this Rock to give it a free passage, dividing the Rock by that means into little Islands, upon which he built a great strong Castle, joyned together with Bridges, and sumptuously furnished with Hangings of Silk and Gold, rare Pictures and Statues; all which Buildings united as I formerly told, were encompassed about with Water, which was paved with Stone (those which were used in the building of the House were drawn from thence). One might see the huge Carps, Pike and Trouts, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the Waters very easily, yet nothing in my opinion added so much to the glory of this Castle as a Forest adjoining close to it, and upon a level with the House; for being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall Trees and Underwoods, the whole Forest which was replenished with Wild Boar, Stag, and Roe-Deer, was cut out
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into long Walks every way, so that altho the Dogs might follow their Chace through the Thickets, the Huntsmen might ride along the said Walks, and meet or overtake their Game in some one of them, they being cut with that Art, that they led to all the parts in the said Forest; and here also I have hunted the Wild Boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son the Duke of Montmorency succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the direction the Old Constable gave me to return to his Castle out of this admirable Labirinth, telling me I shou'd look upon what side the Trees were roughest and hardest, which being found I might be confident that part stood Northward, which being observed I might easily find the East, as being on the right hand, and so guide my way home.

How much this House, together with the Forest hath been valued by great Princes, may appear by two little Narratives I shall here insert: Charles the fifth the great Emperor, passing in the time of Franfoy the first, from Spain into the Low Countreys by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this House, by a Duke of Montmorency who was likewise Constable de France, after he had taken this Palace into his consideration with the Forests adjoyning, said he wou'd willingly give one of his Provinces in the Low Countreys for such a place, there being as he thought no where such a situation.

Henry

Henry the fourth also was desirous of this House, and offer'd to exchange any of his Houses, with much more Lands than his Estate thereabouts was worth; to which the Duke of Montmorency made this wary answer; *Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je fois le concierge*: which in English sounds thus; Sir, the House is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you.

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months, and attain'd as was thought the knowledge of Horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at * St. Ilee, and after due thanks for his favours, took my leave of him to go to Paris, whereupon the good old Prince embracing me, and calling me son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he shou'd be glad of any occasion hereafter to testifie his Love and Esteem for me; telling me further, he shou'd come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me; from hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my Diet, and the pains of his Teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master wou'd not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection; whereupon also a Genet, for which the Duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there 500 Crowns, as I was told, was brought to me. The greatness of this gift, together with other Courtesies receiv'd, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them.

* Sic orig. But it is probably a blunder of the Transcriber for Chantilly.

I wou'd have given my Horſes I had there, which were of great value to him, but that I thought them too mean a preſent, but the Duke alſo ſuſpecting that I meant to do ſo prevented me; ſaying, that as I loved him, I ſhou'd think upon no requital, while I ſtay'd in France, but when I came into England, if I ſent him a Mare that ambled naturally, I ſhou'd much gratifie him; I told the Meſſenger I ſhou'd ſtrive both that way and every way elſe to declare my thankfullneſs, and ſo diſmiſt the Meſſenger with a good Reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the Lord Ambaſſador, I was receiv'd to the Houſe of that incomparable Schollar Iſaac Caſſabon, by whoſe learn'd Converſation I much benefitted my ſelf, beſides I did apply my ſelf much to know the uſe of my Arms, and to ride the great Horſe, playing on the Lute, and Singing according to the Rules of the French Maſters.

Sometimes alſo I went to the Court of the French King, Henry the fourth, who upon information of me in the Garden at the Tuileries, receiv'd me with all courteſie, embracing me in his Arms, and holding me ſome while there. I went ſometimes alſo to the Court of Queen Margaret at the Hoſtel, called by her name; and here I ſaw many Balls or Masks, in all which it pleaſed that Queen publickly to place me next to her Chair, not without the wonder of ſome, and the envy of another who was wont to have that favour. I ſhall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All

All things being ready for the Ball, and every one being in their place, and I my self next to the Queen, expecting when the Dancers wou'd come in, one knockt at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person; when he came in, I remember there was a suddain whisper among the Ladies, saying, C'est Monsieur Balagny, or 'tis Monsieur Balagny; whereupon also I saw the Ladies and Gentlewomen one after another invite him to sit near them, and which is more, when one Lady had his company a while, another would say, you have injoyed him long enough, I must have him now; at which bold Civility of theirs, tho I were astonish'd, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person cou'd not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his Hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his Doublet but of Sackcloth cut to his Shirt, and his Breeches only of plain grey Cloth; informing my self by some standers by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallentest men in the World, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the Ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all French women to cherish gallant men, as thinking they cou'd not make so much of any else with the safety of their honor. This Cavalier tho his Head was half grey, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me, at the Siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in it's place.

Having

Having past thus all the Winter, untill about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French King, Queen Margaret, and the Nobles and Ladies in both Courts; at which time the Princess of Conti desired me to carry a Scarf into England, and present it to Queen Ann on her part, which being accepted, my self and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two Cavaliers of our Nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them) we came on our way as far as Diep in Normandy, and there took Ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a Storm arose, that with very great danger we were at Sea all night; the master of our Ship lost both the use of his Compass and his Reason; for not knowing whither he was carried by the Tempest, all the help he had was by the Lightings, which together with Thunder very frequently that night terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our Coast, to which he thought by the course of his Glasses we were near approached; and now towards day we found our selves, by great Providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our Ship did make. The men of Dover rising by times in the morning to see whether any Ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the Shoar, as believing the Tempest, which had thrown down Barns and Trees near the Town, might give them the benefit of some Wreck, if perchance any Ship were driven thitherwards; we coming thus in extream danger straight upon the Peer of Dover, which stands out in the Sea, our Ship

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was

was unfortunately split against it; the master said, Mes Amies nous sommes perdus; or my friends we are cast away; when myself who heard the Ship crack against the Peer, and then found by the master's words it was time for every one to save themselves, if they cou'd, got out of my Cabin ('tho' very Sea-sick) and climbing up the Mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover having this sign given them, adventured in a Shallop of six Oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our Ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offer'd to get in before him, I shou'd resist him with my sword, whereupon a faithfull servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the Cabin, who was half dead of Sea-Sickness, put him into my Arms, whom after I had receiv'd, I bid the Shallop make away for Shoar, and the rather that I saw another Shallop coming to relieve us; when a Post from France, who carried Letters, finding the Ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our Ship into the Shallop, where falling fortunately on some of the stronger Tymber of the Boat, and not of the Planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us, had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two, unto the Land; I must confess myself, as also the Seamen that were in the Shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt, but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the Land, from whence we sent more Shalops, and so made means to save both men and horses that were in the Ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, in so much that in pity to the master, Sir
Thomas

Thomas Lucy and my self gave thirty Pounds towards his Loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the Tide now ebbing he recover'd the broken parts of his Ship.

Coming thus to London and afterwards to Court, I kissed his Majesties hand, and acquainted him with some Particulars concerning France. As for the Present I had to deliver to her Majesty from the Princess of Conty, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the Ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in Person: but her Majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers Questions of me concerning that Princess and the Courts in France, saying she wou'd speak more at large with me at some other time, for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what Present she might return back again.

Howbeit not many weeks after I return'd to my Wife and Family again, where I passed some time, partly in my Studies and partly riding the great Horse, of which I had a Stable well furnish'd; no Horse yet was so dear to me as the Genet, I brought from France, whose Love I had so gotten that he wou'd suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious Horse; his true Picture may be seen in the Chappel Chamber in my House, where I am painted riding him, and this Motto by me,

Me totum Bonitas bonum suprema
Reddas; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse.

This Horse as soon as ever I came to the Stable wou'd neigh, and when I drew nearer him wou'd lick my hand, and (when I suffer'd him) my Cheek, but yet wou'd permit nobody to come near his Heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy wou'd have given me 200*l.* for this Horse, which 'tho I wou'd not accept, yet I left the Horse with him when I went to the Low-Countrys, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus, hearing that a war about the Title of Cleave, Juliers and some other Provinces betwixt the Low-Countrys and Germany shou'd be made, by the several pretenders to it, and that the French King himself wou'd come with a great Army into those Parts: It was now the Year of our Lord 1610 when my * Lord Shandois and myself resolved to take Shipping for the Low-Countrys, and from thence to pass to the City of Juliers, which the Prince of Orange resolved to besiege; making all hast thither we found the Siege newly begun; the Low Country Army assisted by 4000 English under the command of Sir Edward Cecil. We had not been long there, when the Marshall de-Chartres instead of Henry the 4th, who was killed by that Villain Ravalliac, came with a brave French Army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mention'd, was a Colonel.

My Lord Shandois lodged himself in the Quarters where Sir Horace Vere was, I went and quarter'd with Sir Edward Cecill, where I was lodged next to him in a Hutt I made there, go-

* Grey Bridges Lord Chandos, made a Knight of the Bath at the creation of Charles Duke of York 1604; and called for his hospitality and magnificence, the King of Cotswold.

ing yet both by day and night to the Trenches, we making our approaches to the Town on one side and the French on the other. Our Lines were drawn towards the point of a Bulwark of the Cittadel or Castle, thought to be one of the best Fortifications in Christiandom, and incompassed about with a deep wet ditch, we lost many men in making these approaches, the Town and Castle being very well provided both with great and small Shot, and a Garrison in it of about 4000 men besides the Burghers; Sir Edward Cecill (who was a very active General) used often during this Siege, to go in person in the night time, to try whether he cou'd catch any Sentinells perdues; and for this purpose still desir'd me to accompany him, in performing whereof both of us did much hazard our selves, for the first Sentinell retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three Shots were commonly made at us, before we cou'd do any thing, 'tho afterwards chasing them with our Swords almost home unto their Guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecill and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a Bullwark or Bastion of that City, Monsieur de Balagny in the presence of Sir Edward Cecill and diverse English and French captains then present, said "Monsieur, On dit, que vous êtes un des plus braves de vôtre Nation, et Je suis Balagny, allons voir qui fera le mieux; They say, you are one of the bravest of your Nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best;" whereupon leaping suddainly out of the Trenches with his Sword drawn,

drawn, I did in the like manner as suddainly follow him, both of us in the mean while striving who shou'd be foremost, which being perceiv'd by those of the Bullwark and Cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred Shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other was the cause that all the Shots fell betwixt us and the Trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of Bullets, said, "par Dieu il fait bien chaud, it is very hot here;" I answer'd briefly thus, "Vous en ires premier, autrement Je n'iray jamais; You shall go first or else I will never go;" hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the Trenches, I followed after leasurely and upright, and yet came within the Trenches before they on the Bullwark or Cortine cou'd charge again, which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange Bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoydable death.

I cou'd relate diverse things of note concerning myself, during the Siege, but do forbear, least I shou'd relish too much of Vanity; it shall suffice that my passing over the Ditch unto the Wall, first of all the Nations there, is set down by William Crofts Master of Arts, and Soldier, who hath written and printed the History of the Low-Countrys.

There happened during this Siege a particular Quarrel betwixt me and the * Lord of Walden, eldest son to the Earl of Suf-

* Theophilus Lord Howard of Walden, eldest son of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, whom he succeeded in the title, and was Knight of the Garter, Constable of Dover-Castle, and Captain of the Band of Pensioners.

folk,

folk, Lord Treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family, howbeit to avoid Misreports I have thought fit to set it down truly; that Lord having been invited to a Feast in Sir Horace Vere's Quarters, where (after the Low-Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecil's Quarters, at which time, I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offence at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving did more than half way meet him; but the Company were so vigilant upon us that before any blow past we were separated; howbeit because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a Challenge, telling him that if he had any thing to say to me, I wou'd meet him in such a place as no man shou'd interrupt us. Shortly after this Sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my Lord wou'd fight with me on Horseback with single sword, and said he, I will be his second: where is yours? I replied that neither his Lordship nor myself brought over any great Horses with us; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself: howbeit as soon as he shewed me the place, he shou'd find me there on Horseback or on Foot; whereupon both of us riding together upon two Geldings to the side of a Wood, Payton said he chose that place, and the time break of day the next morning; I told him I wou'd fail neither place nor time, 'tho I knew not where to get a better Horse than the Nag I rid on; and as for a second I shall trust to your Nobleness, who I know will

will see fair play betwixt us, 'tho' you come on his side: But he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I cou'd promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the Army to this purpose, I doubted least the business might be discover'd and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew on, myself resolving in the mean time to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my Horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on Horseback again, and had not rode very far when by the talk of the Soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch Quarter, where finding in a stable a very fair Horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of Money, but a Soldier replying it was their Captain's, Sir James Areskin's chief Horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the Soldier answering he was not within the Quarter, I demanded then for his Lieutenant, whereupon the Soldier courteously desired him to come to me; this Lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man; I told him that I wou'd very fain buy a Horse, and if it were possible the Horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offer'd to leave in his hands 100 pieces, if he wou'd lend me a good Horse for a day or two, he to restore me the Money again when I deliver'd him the Horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as a gratuity.

The

The Lieutenant, 'thô he did not know me, suspected I had some private Quarrel, and that I desired this Horſe to fight on, and thereupon told me, Sir, whoſoever you are, you ſeem to be a perſon of worth, and you ſhall have the beſt Horſe in the ſtable; and if you have a Quarrel and want a ſecond, I offer myſelf to ſerve you upon another Horſe, and if you will let me go along with you upon theſe terms, I will aſk no pawn of you for the Horſe. I told him I wou'd uſe no ſecond, and I deſired him to accept 100 pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the Horſe, and he ſhou'd hear from me ſhortly again; and that 'thô I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I ſhou'd evermore reſt much obliged to him; whereupon giving him my purſe with the money in it, I got upon his Horſe and left my Nag beſides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'Clock at night to the Wood from whence I came, I alighted from my Horſe and reſted there 'till morning; the day now breaking I got on Horſeback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his ſecond. The firſt perſon that appeared was a Footman, who I heard afterwards was ſent by the Lady of Walden, who as ſoon as he ſaw me, ran back again with all ſpeed; I meant once to purſue him, but that I thought it better at laſt to keep my place. About two hours after Sir William St. Leiger, now Lord Preſident of Munſter, came to me, and told me he knew the cauſe of my being there, and that the buſineſs was diſcover'd by the Lord Walden's riſing ſo early that morning, and the ſuſpicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Payton with him,

and that he wou'd ride to him, and that there were 30 or 40 sent after us, to hinder us from meeting; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden; I stayed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch Quarters, and deliver'd the Horse back again, and receiv'd my Money and Nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the French Quarters, 'till I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the brava-
do of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him told him, I knew
how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one
tryall of daring, when I was last with him in his Trenches, I
wou'd put him to another; saying I heard he had a fair Mis-
tress, and that the Scarf he wore was her gift, and that I wou'd
maintain I had a worthier Mistress than he, and that I wou'd
do as much for her sake as he, or any else durst do for his;
Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, if we shall
try who is the abler man to serve his Mistress, let both of us
get two Wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him
be the braver man; and that for his part, he had no mind to
fight on that Quarrell; I looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully
on him, said he spoke more like a Paillard than a Cavalier, to
which he answering nothing I rid my wayes, and afterwards
went to Monsieur Terant, a French Gentleman that belonged to
the

the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mention'd; who telling me he had a Quarrel with another Gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English Quarters, attending some fitt occasion to send again to the Lord Walden; I came no sooner thither, but I found * Sir Thomas Sommerfet with 11 or 12 more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a Body or Squadron, who seeing me on Horseback, with a Footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my Quarrelling with the Lord of Walden; whereupon I alighted, and giving my Horse to my Lacky, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw but he drew his, as also all the Company with him, I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their Thrusts, and making towards him in particular put by a Thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieutenant Pritchard, at that instant taking me by the Shoulder, turned me aside, but I recovering myself again ran at him a second time, which he perceiving retired himself with the Company to the Tents which were near, 'tho not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him; but they being all at last got within the Tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my Horse again, having receiv'd only a slight hurt

* He was third son of Edward Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal to Q. Elizabeth and K. James. Sir Thomas was Master of the Horse to Q. Anne, was made a Knight of the Bath in 1604, and Viscount Sommerfet of Cassel in Ireland.

on the outside of my Ribs, and two Thrusts, the one through the skirts of my Doublet, and the other through my Breeches, and about 18 nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the Trenches before Juliers, where our Soldiers were.

Not long after this the Town being now surrendered, and every body preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword, but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earle of Holland, perswaded him.)

After having taken leave of his Excellency Sir Edward Cecill, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorp; I had been scarce two hours in my Lodgings when one Lieutenant Hamilton brought a Letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in Town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieutenant Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his Horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his Conscience I never spake, or if I wou'd justifie them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him; having considered a while what I was to do in this case, I told Lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honour to accept the more noble part of his Proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his Horse upon other terms than was affirmed; whereupon also giving
ing

ing Lieutenant Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he had matched it, I wou'd fight with him, wishing him further to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as cou'd be ; Lieutenant Hamilton hereupon returning back met in a cross Street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieutenant Montgomery, conveying divers of the hurt and maimed Soldiers at the Siege of St. Julies unto that Town, to be lodged and drest by the Chirurgions there ; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his Captain's Letter, together with my Answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard, but he replied (as Hamilton told me afterwards) I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me ; but my telling a Lie must not be an occasion why either my Captain or he shou'd hazard their Lives : I will alight from my Horse, and tell my Captain presently how all that matter past ; whereupon also he relating the business about borrowing the Horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business past, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Duffeldorp, the next day Lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of loosing his place, and desired me to make means to his Excellency the Prince of Orange that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone ; I told him that either I would keep him in his place,

place, or take him as my Companion and Friend, and allow him sufficient Means 'till I cou'd provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my Letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he shou'd be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat I past along the River of Rhine to the Low-Countrys, where after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Bruffells, and having past some time in the Court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking Ship I arrived at Dover and so went to London; I had scarce been two days there, when the Lords of the Counsell sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And now if I may say it without Vanity, I was in great esteem both in Court and City, many of the greatest desiring my Company, 'tho yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. * Richard Earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset-House, where bringing me into his Gallery and shewing me many Pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green Taffita, and askt me who I thought was there, and therewithall presently drawing the Curtain shewed me my own Picture, whereupon demanding how his Lordship came to have it, he answered that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a Picture which one Larkin a Painter drew for me, the original whereof I intended before my

* Richard Sackville Earl of Dorset, grandson of the Treasurer, and husband of the famous Anne Clifford Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

departure to the Low-Countrys for Sir Thomas Lucy; but not only the Earl of Dorset, but a † greater Person than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larking, and placing it afterwards in her Cabinet (without that ever I knew any such thing was done) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I cou'd have wisht; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my Picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a Lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres Knight, who finding some means to get a copy of my Picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. ‡ Isaac the Painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner, which being done she caused it to be set in Gold and enamell'd, and so wore it about her Neck so low that she hid it under her Breasts, which I conceive coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of Jealousie than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to any thing which might wrong him or his Lady, since I cou'd not so much as imagine that either she had my Picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me; it is true that as she had a place in Court and attended Queen Ann, and was beside of an excellent Wit, and Discourse, she had made herself a considerable Person;

† This was certainly Queen Anne, as appears from the very respectful terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

‡ Isaac Oliver.

howbeit

howbeit little more than common Civility ever past betwixt us, 'thô I confefs I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall alledge this Passage:

Coming one day into her Chamber, I saw her through the Curtains laying upon her Bed with a Wax Candle in one Hand, and the Picture I formerly mention'd in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her, she blew out the Candle, and hid the Picture from me; myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her Hand, got the Candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my Picture she looked upon with more earnestness and Passion than I cou'd have easily believ'd, especially since myself was not engaged in any Affection towards her: I cou'd willingly have omitted this Passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody History which followed: Howsoever yet I must before the Eternal God clear her Honor. And now in Court a great Person sent for me divers times to attend her, which Summons 'thô I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declin'd coming to her as much as conveniently I cou'd, without incurring her displeasure; and this I did not only for very honest Reasons, but to speak ingeniously, because that Affection passed betwixt me and another Lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing cou'd divert it. I had not been long in London, when a violent burning Fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my Death, 'thô at last I did by slow degrees recover my Health; being thus upon my amendment, the Lord * Lisle afterwards Earl of

* Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester, younger brother of Sir Philip Sidney.

Leicester,

Leicester, sent me word that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my Bed, and wisht me to keep a Guard upon my Chamber and Person; the same advertisement was confirm'd by † Lucy Countess of Bedford, and the Lady ‡ Hobby shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to intreat Sir William Herbert now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great Persons, and that I cou'd not imagine any sufficient ground hereof; howbeit if he had any thing to say to me in a fair and noble way, I wou'd give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my Legs; Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtfull an Answer from him, that whatsoever he meant, he wou'd not declare yet his Intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he cou'd, since as he said, 'tho falsely, I had whored his Wife. Finding no means thus to surprize me, he sent me a Letter to this effect; that he desir'd to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I shou'd upon assurance of the field and fair play give him meeting when he did any way specifie the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his Plots to assassinate me.

† Lucy Harrington, wife of Edward Earl of Bedford, a great patroness of the Wits and Poets of that age.

‡ Probably Anne, second wife of Sir Edward Hobby, a patron of Camden.

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After

After this, finding he cou'd take no advantage against me, then in a treacherous way he resolv'd to assassinate me in this manner; hearing I was to come to Whitehall on Horseback with two Lackies only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland-Yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed on purpose to kill me. I took Horse at Whitehall Gate and passing by that place, he being armed with a Sword and Dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me wounded my Horse in the brisket, as far as his Sword cou'd enter for the bone; my Horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which tho' it made the Horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my Sword; his men thereupon encompassed me and wounded my Horse in three places more; this made my Horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me, which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his Sword and Dagger: instead of doing him harm, I broke my Sword within a foot of the hilt; hereupon some Passenger that knew me, and observing my Horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my Sword broken, cried to me several times, ride away, ride away; but I scorning a base flight upon what terms soever, instead thereof alighted as well as I cou'd from my Horse; I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my Horse again, which the Horse perceiving pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained

flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrop, with that piece of a Sword in my right hand; Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the Horse and was thrusting his Sword into me, when I finding myself in this danger did with both my arms reaching at his legs pull them towards me, 'till he fell down backwards on his head; one of my Footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire Boy, freed my foot out of the stirrop, the other which was a great Fellow having run away as soon as he saw the first assault; this gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best posture I cou'd with that poor remnant of a weapon: Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least 20 or 30 Persons of his Friends or Attendants of the Earl of Suffolk; observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, 'tho to speak truly I saw no Swords drawn but by Sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against Sir John Ayres, but he knowing my Sword had no point, held his Sword and Dagger over his head, as believing I cou'd strike rather than thrust, which I no sooner perceiv'd but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards; his men hereupon assaulted me, when one Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them, a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also; all I cou'd well do to those two which remained, was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution that I got ground

upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, receiv'd a stab with his Dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling did with my right elbow force his hand together with the hilt of the Dagger so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The Dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary afterwards Lord of Faulkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the Dagger thus in my body snatcht it out; this while I being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when kneeling on the ground and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I cou'd with my piece of a Sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand; his two men this while struck at me, but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me, for when I lifted up my Sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore of their blows half a dozen times; his Friends now finding him in this danger took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carrying him along with them through Whitehall, at the Stairs whereof he took Boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the Water vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him; his Servants, Brother, and Friends being now retir'd also, I remained master of the place and his weapons, having first wrested his Dagger from him, and afterwards struck his Sword out of his hand.

This being done I retired to a Friend's House in the Strand, where I sent for a Surgeon who searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I receiv'd many noble Visits and Messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recover'd of my Hurts, I desired * Sir Robert Harley to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that 'tho I thought he had not so much Honor left in him, that I cou'd be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his Sword in his hand; the Answer that he sent me was, that I had whored his Wife, and that he wou'd kill me with a Musket out of a Window.

The Lords of the Privy Counsell, who had first sent for my Sword, that they might see the little fragment of a Weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a Challenge to him in an Ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his Sword, and so let it fall before him, and the Company then present.

The Lords of the Privy Counsell had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres, when I finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had

* Knight of the Bath and Master of the Mint.

now published every where, that the ground of his Jealousie, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the Confession of his Wife the Lady Ayres: She to vindicate her Honor as well as free me from this Accusation, sent a Letter to her Aunt the Lady Crook, to this purpose: That her Husband Sir John Ayres did lie falsely, in saying that I ever whored her, but most falsely of all did lie when he said he had it from her Confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This Letter the Lady Crook presented to me most opportunely as I was going to the Counsell Table before the Lords, who having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of his Quarrel against me, found him still persist on his Wife's confession of the Fact; and now he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when the * Duke of Lenox, afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his Quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner; I desired his Lordship to peruse the Letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the Room; this Letter being publicly read by a Clerk of the Counsel, the Duke of Lenox then said, that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living, for his Wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her Letter, but his Father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me, in that barbarous fashion, which was most true as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than cou'd be believed, but that I had so

* Lodowic Stuart Duke of Lenox and Richmond was Lord Steward of the Household and Knight of the Garter.

many witnesses thereof; for all which reasons he commanded me in the name of his Majesty, and all their Lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any Message from him, in the way of Fighting, which Commandment I observed: Howbeit I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards Sir John Ayres returning from Ireland, by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my Servants and Followers broke open the doors of the House where he was, and wou'd (I believe) have cut him into pieces, but that I hearing thereof came suddenly to the House and recalled them, sending him word also, that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I wou'd set him free out of the Town, which courtesie of mine (as I was told afterwards) he did thankfully acknowledge.

About a month after that Sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me; the news thereof was carried (I know not how) to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently dispatcht a Gentleman with a Letter to me (which I keep) and a kind offer, that if I wou'd come unto him, I shou'd be used as his own son, neither had this Gentleman (as I know of) any other business in England; I was told besides by this Gentleman, that the Duke heard I had greater and more enemies than did publickly declare themselves (which indeed was true) and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My Answer hereunto by Letter was, That I render'd most humble thanks for his great favor, in sending to me; that no Enemies how great or many soever cou'd force me out of the
King-

Kingdome; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I shou'd not fail to come; for performance whereof, it hap'ning there were some Overtures of a Civil War in France the next year, I sent over a French Gentleman who attended me, unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed War, I wou'd bring over 100 Horse at my own cost and charges to him, which that good old Duke and Constable took so kindly that (as the Dutcheſs of * Antedor his daughter told me afterwards, when I was Ambaſſador) there were few days 'till the last of his life that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611 when I was hurt, untill the year of our Lord 1614, than that I paſt my time ſometimes in the Court, where (I proteſt before God) I had more favors than I deſired, and ſometimes in the Country without any memorable accident; but only that it happened one time going from St. Gillian's to Abergaveney, in the way to Montgomery Caſtle, Richard Griffiths, a Servant of mine, being come near a Bridge over Huſk not far from the Town, thought fit to water his Horſe, but the River being deep and ſtrong in that place where he ent'red it, he was carried down the Stream; my Servants that were before me ſeeing this, cried aloud Dick Griffiths was drowning, which I no ſooner heard, but I put Spurs to my Horſe, and coming up to the place, where I ſaw him as high as his middle in Water, leapt into the River a little below him, and ſwimming up to

* Ventadour.

him bore him up with one of my hands, and brought him unto the middle of the River, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of Sand; coming hither not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves, and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that perchance the River might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsell and putting my Horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and swimming through the River brought him safe to the other side. The Horse I rode upon I remember cost me 40*l.* and was the same Horse which Sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim excellently well, carrying me and his back above Water; whereas that little Nag upon which Richard Griffiths rid, swam so low, that he must needs have drowned, if I had not supported him.

I will tell one History more of this Horse, which I bought of my Cozen Fowler of the Grange, because it is memorable; I was passing over a Bridge not far from Colebrook which had no Barrier on the one side, and a hole in the Bridge not far from the middle, my Horse 'tho lusty yet being very timerous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a suddain he had put half his body lengthwise over the side of the Bridge, and was ready to fall into the River, with his fore-foot and hinder foot on the right side, when I foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapt my left foot together with the stirrop and spurr flat-long

to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the River, whence after some three or four plunges he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now ent'ring, when I understood that the Low-Country and Spanish Army wou'd be in the Field that year; this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who upon my coming did much wellcome me, not suffering me almost to eat any where but at his Table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his Coach, to partake of those Entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low-Country Army being now ready, his Excellency prepared to go into the Field; in the way to which he took me in his Coach, and sometimes in a Waggon after the Low-Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief Commanders who expected that honor. Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble Petition came from a Monastery of Nuns, most humbly desiring that the Soldiers might not violate their honor nor their Monastery, whereupon I was a most humble Suitor to his Excellency to spare them, which he granted; but said he, we will go and see them ourselves; and thus his Excellency, and I and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the Monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this Monastery, his Excellency marched with his Army on 'till we came near the City of Emerick, which upon summoning yeilded; and now leaving a Garrison here, we resolved to march towards * Rice;

* Rees in the Duchy of Cleve near Emerick.

this place having the Spanish Army under the command of Monsieur Spinola on the one side, and the Low-Country Army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both Armies, that which soever came first shou'd have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his Excellency, that if we intended to take Rice, he wou'd give him Battle, in a Plain near before the Town. His Excellency nothing astonished hereat marched on, his Pioneers making his way for the Army still, through Hedges and Ditches, 'till he came to that Hedge and Ditch which was next the Plain; and here drawing his men into Battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the Field; while his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his Army appeared, I leapt over a great Hedge and Ditch, attended only with one Footman, purposing to change a Pistol-shot or two with the first I met; I found thus some single Horse in the Field, who perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they cou'd, believing perchance that more wou'd follow me; having thus past to the further end of the Field, and finding no shew of the Enemy, I returned back that I might inform his Excellency there was no hope of fighting as I cou'd perceive. In the mean time his Excellency having prepared all things for Battle, sent out five or six Scouts to discover whether the Enemy were come according to promise; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the Enemies, which being perceiv'd by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my Sword in my hand, and Pistol, to encounter them; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there

that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his Excellency and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an Army: his Excellency then caused the Hedge and Ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front with his Army into the middle of the Field, from whence sending some of his Forces to summon the Town, it yielded without resistance.

Our Army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the Battle, that all our Baggage and Provision were left behind, in so much that I was without any Meat, but what my Footman spared me out of his Pocket, and my Lodging that night was no better, for extream Rain falling at that time in the open Field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a Waggon which had Straw in it, and to cover myself with my Cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no Enemy appearing, I went to the Town of Rice, into which his Excellency having now put a Garrison, marched on with the rest of his Army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his Army lay, and in the way intrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happ'ned after this, betwixt those two great Generals for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfullness to remember a favor his Excellency did me at this time, for a Soldier having killed his fellow Soldier, in the Quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man wou'd speak for him;

him; the poor fellow comes to me and desires me to beg his Life of his Excellency; whereupon I demanding whether he had ever heard of a man pardon'd in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little said, Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I loose my Life? This piece of Eloquence moved me so much that I went straight to his Excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the Earl of * Southampton as also Sir Edward Cecill, and Sir Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French Commanders; to whom his Excellency turning himself said in French, do you see this Cavalier? with all that courage you know, hath yet that good nature to pray for the Life of a poor Soldier: 'tho I had never pardon'd any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request: so commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was now so far advanced in Autumn both Armies thought of retiring themselves into their Garrisons, when a Trumpeter comes from the Spanish Army to ours, with a Challenge from a Spanish Cavalier to this effect, That if any Cavalier in our

* Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. He had been attainted with the Earl of Essex, but was restored by King James and made Knight of the Garter.

Army wou'd fight a single Combat for the sake of his Mistrefs, the said Spaniard wou'd meet him, upon assurance of the Camp in our Army. This Challenge being brought early in the morning was accepted by nobody 'till about 10 or 11 of the Clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went streight to his Excellency and told him I desir'd to accept the Challenge. His Excellency thereupon looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old Soldier and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send Challenges in this kind; one was of those who having lost perchance some part of their honor in the Field against the Enemy, wou'd recover it again by a single Fight. The other was of those who sent it only to discover whether our Army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind; howbeit if this man was a person without exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew, upon whom he wou'd sooner venture the honor of his Army than myself; and this also he spoke before divers of the English and French Commanders I formerly nominated. Hereupon, by his Excellency's permission, I sent a Trumpet to the Spanish Army with this Answer, That if the person who wou'd be sent were a Cavalier without reproach, I wou'd answer him with such weapons as we shou'd agree upon, in the place he offer'd; but my Trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish Army, when another Trumpeter came to ours from Spinola, saying the Challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he wou'd not permit it. This message being brought to his Excellency, which whom I then was, he said to me presently, this is strange; they send a Challenge hither, and when they

they have done, recall it. I should be glad if I knew the true Causes of it. Sir, said I, if you will give me leave, I will go to their Army and make the like Challenge, as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed, being in your Excellency's Camp, and therefore I shall offer them the Combat in their own: his Excellency said, I shou'd never have persuaded you to this Course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honor. Hereupon taking my leave of him, and desiring Sir * Humphrey Tufton, a brave Gentleman, to bare me company, thus we two attended only with two Lackies, rode streight towards the Spanish Camp before Wezel; coming thither without any disturbance, by the way I was demanded by the Guard at the ent'ring into their Camp, with whom I wou'd speak, I told them with the Duke of Newbourg, whereupon a Soldier was presently sent with us to conduct us to the Duke of Newbourg's Tent, who rememb'ring me well, since he saw me at the Siege of Juliers, very kindly embraced me, and therewithall demanding the Cause of my coming thither; I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down; to which he replied only, He wou'd acquaint the Marquis Spinola therewith; who coming shortly after to the Duke of Newbourg's Tent, with a great train of Commanders and Captains following him, he no sooner ent'red, but he turned to me and said, That he knew well the Cause of my coming, and that the same Reasons which made him forbid the Spanish Cavalier to fight a

* Third son of Sir John Tufton, and brother of Nicholas Earl of Thanet.

Combat in the Prince of Orange's Camp, did make him forbid it in his, and that I shou'd be better welcome to him than I wou'd be, and thereupon intreated me to come and dine with him; I finding nothing else to be done did kindly accept the offer, and so attended him to his Tent, where a brave Dinner being put upon his Table, he placed the Duke of Newbourg uppermost at one end of the Table, and myself at the other, himself setting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that Meat his Carver offer'd him: he demanded of me then in Italian, *Di che moriva Sigr. Francisco Vere*; Of what died Sir Francis Vere? I told him, *Per aver niente à fare*, because he had nothing to do; Spinola replied, *E basta per un Generale*, and it is enough to kill a General; and indeed that brave Commander, Sir Francis Vere, died not in time of War but of Peace.

Taking my leave now of the Marquis Spinola, I told him that if ever he did lead an Army against the Infidels I shou'd adventure to be the first man that wou'd die in that Quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his Army, which he granting, I took leave of him, and did at leisure view it; observing the difference in the proceedings betwixt the Low-Country Army and Fortifications as well as I cou'd; and so returning shortly after to his Excellency related to him the success of my Journey. It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a Peace by the King's command, who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's Army, whence after a night's stay, I went on an
extream

extream rainy day through the Woods to Kyfarwert, to the great wonder of mine Host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way : From hence I went to * Cullin, where among other things I saw the Monastery of St. Herbert; from hence I went to Hydelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine, from whom having received much good usage, I went to Ulme, and so to Augsbourg, where extraordinary honor was done me, for coming into an Inn where an Ambassador from Brussels lay, the Town sent twenty great flaggons of Wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the Ambassador, and nine to me; and withall some such Compliments that I found my Fame had prevented my coming thither. From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English Ambassador, † Sir Dudley Carlton, with much honor; among other favors shewed me, I was brought to see a Nun in Murano, who being an admirable Beauty, and together singing extreamly well, who was thought one of the Rarities not only of that place but of the time; we came to a Room opposite unto the Cloyster, whence she coming on the other side of the Grate betwixt us, sung so extreamly well, that when she departed neither my Lord Ambassador nor his Lady, who were then present, cou'd find as much as a word of fitting Language to return her, for the extraordinary Musick she gave us; when I being ashamed that she shou'd go back without some testimony of the sense we had both of the Harmony of her

* Cologne.

† Embassador to Venice, Savoy and Holland, Secretary of State, and Viscount Dorchester.

Beauty and her Voice, said in Italian, *Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni Voce ni Facia per esser un Angelo*; Die whensoever you will, you neither need to change Voice nor Face to be an Angel: These words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time.

From Venice after some stay I went to Florence, where I met the * Earl of Oxford and † Sir Benjamin Rudier: having seen the Rarities of this place likewise, and particularly that rare Chappel made for the House of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a courser kind of precious Stone, as also that Nail which was at one end Iron, and the other Gold, made so by vertue of a Tincture into which it was put. I went to Siena, and from thence a little before the Christmas Holidays to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my Inn, but I went streight to the English Colledge, where demanding for the Regent or Master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the Door, to whom I spake in this manner: Sir, I need not tell you my Country when you hear my Language; I come not here to study Controversies, but to see the Antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the Religion in which I was born and bred up,

* Henry Vere Earl of Oxford. He died at the Hague in 1625 of a Sickness contracted at the Siege of Breda, where, being a very corpulent man, he had overheated himself.

† Sir Benjamin Rudyard was a man in great vogue, in that age, a Wit, and Poet, and intimate friend of William Earl of Pembroke, with whose Poems Sir Benjamin's are printed.

I may take this Liberty, I shou'd be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my Horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of Town. The Answer returned by him to me was, That he never heard any body before me profess himself of any other Religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honor; for the rest that he cou'd give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no Affronts to the Roman Catholick Religion, receiv'd none; whereupon also he demanded my Name, I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied, That he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for Learning and Courage, and presently invited me to Dinner; I told him that I took his courteous Offer as an Argument of his Affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it; the uttermost Liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that City only, least they should think me a factious person; I thought fit to tell him that I conceiv'd the Points agreed upon on both sides are greater Bonds of Amity betwixt us, than that the Points disagreed on cou'd break them; that for my part I loved every body that was of a pious and vertuous Life, and thought the Errors on what side soever, were more worthy Pity than Hate; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the Antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an Empire over the persons of Men, and afterwards over their Consciences: The Articles of Confession and absolving Sinners

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being

being a greater Arcanum Imperii for governing the World than all the Arts invented by Statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair Palace and Garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum; after that I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in Consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his Blessing, I departed thence suddenly, which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a bye way escaped them, and went to my Inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the Master or Regent of the English Colledge telling me that I was accused in the Inquisition, and that I cou'd stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my Lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence: I saw * Sir Robert Dudley, who had the Title of Earl or Duke of Northumberland given him by the Emperor, and handsome Mrs. Sudel, whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great Feast the night before I went out of Town; taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my Journey the next morning; when I was ready to depart, a Messenger came to me and

* See an Account of this extraordinary person in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. *Handsome Mrs. Sudel* was Mrs. Southwell, daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, who had followed Sir Robert Dudley from England, under the disguise of a Page.

told me if I wou'd accept the same Pension Sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand Duckets per annum, the Duke wou'd entertain me for his Service in the War against the Turks: This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel, or Sigr. Loty my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honor, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his Excellency in the Low-Country War.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which University having spent some time to hear the learned Readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English Horses and Scotch Saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low-Countries, I went by boat to Venice: The Lord Ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, by this time had a command to reside a while in the Court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his Lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I wou'd go thither; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that Court, and that it was in the way to the Low-Country, where I meant to see the War the Summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the Coach with my Lord Ambassador to Milan, the Governor thereof invited my Lord Ambassador to his House, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there: Here I heard that famous Nun singing to the Organ in this manner, another Nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent Art and
Voice;

Voice; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other Women usually did; hereupon also being ready to depart we heard suddainly, for we saw no body, that Nun which was so famous, sing an eight higher than the other had done; her Voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest, that ever I heard, in the using whereof also she shew'd that Art as ravish'd us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the Governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous Feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several Services; the first whereof was, three Ollas podridas consisting of all choice boil'd Meats, placed in three large silver Chargers, which took up the length of a great Table; the Meat in it being heightned up artificially pyramid wise to a Sparrow which was on the top: The second Service was like the former, of roast Meat, in which all manner of Fowle from the Pheasant and Partridge, to other Fowl less than them, were heightned up to a Lark: The third was in Sweet-meats dry of all sorts, heightned in like manner to a round Comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelly, a Town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the Duke was then in War; from whence passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's Court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my Lord Ambassador with intention to go to the Low Countreys, and

and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafigi came to me from the * Duke, and brought a Letter to this effect; That the Duke had heard I was a Cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the Wars, and that if I wou'd serve him I shou'd make my own Conditions: Finding so courteous an invitation I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy, in a Chamber furnished with silk and gold Hangings, and a very rich Bed, and defrayed at the Duke's charges in the English Ambassador's House. The Duke also confirm'd unto me what the Count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers Compliments on me. I told his Highness, that when I knew in what service he pleased to imploy me, he shou'd find me ready to testify the sense I had of his Princely Invitation.

It was now in the time of Carneval, when the Duke who loved the company of Ladies, and Dancing as much as any Prince whosoever, made divers Masks and Balls, in which his own daughters among divers other Ladies danced, and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair Lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some Discourse, which was a great favour among the Italians; he did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the Field being not yet come; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the Spring.

* Charles Emanuel.

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The Duke at last resolving how to use my Service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc in France, to conduct 4000 men of the reform'd Religion (who had promised their Assistance in his War) unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer; so taking my leave of the Duke, and bestowing about 70 or 80*l.* among his Officers, for the kind Entertainment I had receiv'd, I took my leave also of my Lord Ambassador, and Sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise imployed there, and prepared for my Journey, for more expedition of which I was desired to go Post. An old Scotch Knight of the Sandelands hearing this, desir'd to borrow my Horses as far as Heydelberg, which I granted on condition that he wou'd use them well by the way, and give them good keeping in that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafigi was commanded to bear me company in this Journey, and to carry with him some Jewels, which he was to pawn in Lions in France, and with the Money gotten for them to pay the Soldiers above nominated; for 'tho the Duke had put extream Taxations on his People, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every Horse, Ox, Cow or Sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every Chimney; and finally every single person by the pole, which amounted to a Pistole, or 14*s.* a head or person, yet he wanted Money: At which I did not so much wonder as at the patience of his Subjects; of whom I demanded how they cou'd bear their Taxations? I have heard some of them answer, We are not so much offended with the Duke for what he takes from us, as thankfull for what he leaves us.

The Count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the Count telling me still we shou'd come to a good Inn at night: It was now twilight when the Count and I came near a solitary Inn, on the top of a Mountain; the Hostess hearing the noise of Horses came out, with a Child new born on her left Arm, and a rush Candle in her hand, she presently knowing the Count de Scarnafigi, told him, Ah, Sigr. you are come in a very ill time, the Duke's Soldiers have been here to day, and have left me nothing; I looked sadly upon the Count, when he coming near to me whisper'd me in the ear, and said, It may be she thinks we will use her as the Soldiers have done: Go you into the House, and see whether you can find any thing; I will go round about the House, and perhaps I shall meet with some Duck, Hen, or Chicken; entring thus into the House I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old Form, upon which sitting down, the Hostess came towards me with a rush Candle, and said, I protest before God that is true which I told the Count, here is nothing to eat; but you are a Gentleman, methinks it is pity you shou'd want; if you please I will give you some Milk out of my Breasts, into a wooden Dish I have here. This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of any thing: My answer was, God forbid I shou'd take away the Milk from the Child I see in thy Arms, howbeit I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of Charity that ever I heard of; and therewithall giving her a Pistole, or a piece of Gold of 14 s. Scarnafigi and I got on Horseback again and rid another Post, and

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came

came to an Inn where we found very coarse Cheer, yet Hunger made us relish it.

In this Journey I remember I went over Mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a Chair, a Guide that went before bringing a bottle of Straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a Hill I got on horseback and rid to Burgoine, resolving to rest there a while; and the rather (to speak truly) that I had heard divers say, and particularly * Sir John Finnet, and † Sir Richard Newport, that the Host's daughter there was the handsomest woman that ever they saw in their lives. Coming to the Inn the Count Scarnafigi wisht me to rest two or three hours, and he wou'd go before to Lyons to prepare Business for my Journey to Languedoc. The Host's daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest Creature that ever they saw: They answered she was gone to a Marriage, and shou'd be presently sent for, wishing me in the mean while to take some rest upon a Bed, for they saw I needed it. Waking now about two hours afterwards I found her sitting by me, attending when I wou'd open mine Eyes: I shall touch a little of her description; her hair being of a shining black, was naturally curled in that order that

* Master of the Ceremonies.

† Afterwards created a Baron, and ancestor of the Earls of Bradford.

a curious woman would have drest it, for one curl rising by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small Ribband of a Naccarine, or the colour that the Knights of the Bath wear, gave a very gracefull mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head; her eyes which were round and black seemed to be models of her whole Beauty, and in some sort of her Air, while a kind of Light or Flame came from them not unlike that which the Ribband which tied up her hair exhibited; I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier Mouth or whiter Teeth; briefly, all her outward parts seemed to become each other, neither was there any thing that cou'd be misliked, unless one should say her Complexion was too brown, which yet from the shadow was heightened with a good blood in her Cheeks: Her Gown was a green Turkey Grogram, cut all into Panes or Slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's-breadth every where with the same Ribband, with which her hair was bound; so that her Attire seemed as bizare as her Person: I am too long in describing an Host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her than of divers other Beauties held to be the best and fairest of the time whom I have often seen. In conclusion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least Incivility; and indeed after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went streight to Lions: ent'ring the gate, the Guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was,

was, whence I came, and whither I went? to which while I answered, I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and then again upon a Paper he had in his hand; this having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture; for the Queen Mother of France having newly made an Edict, that no Soldiers shou'd be raised in France, the Marquis de * Rambouillet, French Ambassador at Turin, sent word of my imployment to the Marquis de St. Chaumont then Governor of Lions, as also a description of my person. This Edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of Affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men; howbeit the Guards requiring me to come before the Governor, I went with them to a Church where he was at Vespers; this while I walked in the lower part of the Church, little imagining what danger I was in had I levied any men; I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me appparelled in a black stuff suit, without any Attendants upon him, when I supposing this person to be any man rather than the Governor, saluted him without much ceremony: His first question was, whence I came: I answered from Turin; he demanded then whither I wou'd go? I answered I was not yet resolved; his third question was, what news at Turin? to which I answered

* This Gentleman, I believe was husband of Madame de Rambouillet, whose Assemblies of the Wits and Poets were so much celebrated in that Age. They were parents of the famous Julie d'Angennes, duchesse de Montausier, well-known by Voiture's Letters to her.

that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person : The Marquis hereupon called one of the Guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wisht me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the Governor : This man silently leading me out of the Church brought me to a fair House, into which I was no sooner entered, but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the Church, who was the Governor ; I replied I did not know him to be Governor, nor that that was a Prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the Governor nor all the Town cou'd bring me to it alive : The master of the House hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better Chamber than any I could find in an Inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome Lodging not far from the River ; I had not been here half an hour when * Sir Edward Sackville (now Earl of Dorset) hearing only that an English man was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned : The Governor not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my Commission to levy men contrary to the Queen's Edict, made him so doubtfull an answer (after he had a little touched upon both) as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the House where I was, as soon as ever he saw me embraced me, saying, Ned Her-

* Well-known by his duel with the Lord Bruce.

bert, what doest thou here? I answered, Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you, but I protest I know not why I am here. He again said, hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy? I replied, not so much as one; then said he I will warrant thee, 'tho I must tell thee the Governor is much offended at thy Behaviour and Language in the Church, (I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be Governor that came without a Guard, and in such mean Cloths as he then wore.) I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddainly freed. Hereupon returning to the Governor he told of what Family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be Governor; whereupon the Marquis wisht him to go back, that he wou'd come in person to free me out of the House.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I return'd this answer only; That it was enough if he sent order to free me. While these messages past, a company of handsome young Men and Women, out of I know not what Civility, brought Musick under the Window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but Sir Edward Sackville being now return'd with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the Window, and so went along with them to the Governor. Being come into a great Hall where his Lady was, and a large train of Gentlewomen and other persons, the Governor with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him? When his noble Lady answering for me, said, how cou'd he know you, when you were in the Church alone, and in this habit, being

ing for the rest wholly a stranger to you? Which Civility of hers, 'tho I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge, when I was Ambassador in France: The Governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the Church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding that as I did not know him, he cou'd think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: The Governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble Lady taking my part again, gave him those Reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any further. The Governor turning back, I likewise after an humble obeysance made to his Lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my Lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do; I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a Challenge, in such courteous language that he could not refuse it: Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it; by which I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein, and indeed the next day he went out of Town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a Challenge, which at last I penn'd to this effect; That whereas he had given me great offence without a cause, I thought myself bound as a Gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his Sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he wou'd not interpose his authority as an
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excuse for not complying with his Honor on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding no body in Town for two or three days, by whom I might send this Challenge, I resolved for my last means to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I cou'd, when I found he stood upon his Authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant formerly mentioned came to the Town; this Gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me: I presently here-upon taking the Challenge out of my pocket, told him he wou'd oblige me extreamly if he were pleased to deliver it, and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a Nation, that they wou'd never refuse or dislike any thing that was done in an honorable and worthy way.

Terant took the Challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the Language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the Governor would not return me that answer I expected; howsoever said he I will deliver it. Returning thus to my Inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before; about one of the Clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door which awakened me, certain persons knocking so hard as if they wou'd break it, besides through the chinks thereof I saw light; this made me presently

sently rise in my shirt, when drawing my Sword I went to the door and demanded who they were; and together told them that if they came to make me prisoner, I wou'd rather die with my Sword in my hand; and therewithall opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with Halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me, that they came not to me from the Governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the Duke I formerly mentioned, and that he came to Town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was Governor) to Paris; and that he desired me if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me further that this was most true; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I drest myself and went with them; they conducted me to the great Hall of the Governor, where the Duke of Montmorency and divers other Cavaliers had been dancing with the Ladies; I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the Passages betwixt the Governor and me, and that I had sent him a Challenge; howbeit that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons, for those things they did by vertue of their office: Nevertheless that I shou'd have satisfaction in as ample manner as I cou'd reasonably desire. Hereupon bringing me with him to the Governor, he freely told me that now he knew who I was, he cou'd do no less than assure me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction; the Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, C'est assez; it is enough. I then turning to him, demanded whether he wou'd have taken

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this satisfaction in the like case? he said yes. After this, turning to the Governor, I demanded the same question, to which he answered, that he wou'd have taken the same satisfaction and less too; I kissing my hand, gave it him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some Complements past between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great Love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I wou'd go with him to Paris? I told him that I was engaged to the Low-Countries, but that wheresoever I was I shou'd be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc being thus ended, I went from Lions to Geneva, where I found also my Fame had prevented my coming, for the next morning after my arrival, the State taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some Flaggons of Wine, desiring me (if I stayed there any while) to see their Fortifications, and give my Opinion of them; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest; which was on the hilly Part, where indeed they had made great Fortifications; yet as it is a Rule in War that whatsoever may be made by Art, may be destroyed by Art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an Enemy on that part rather than any other: They replied that divers great Soldiers had told them the same; and
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that they wou'd give the best Order they cou'd to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take Physick (my Health being a little broken with long Travel) I departed after a fortnight's stay to Basil, where taking a Boat upon the River I came at length to Strasbourg, and from thence went to Heydelbourg, where I was receiv'd again by the Prince Elector and Princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair Library there, the Gardens and other Rarities of that place, and here I found my Horses I lent to Sandilands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some Servants of the Prince, in way of Retribution for my welcome thither. From hence * Sir George Calvert and myself went by Water for the most part to the Low-Countreys, where taking leave of each other, I went straight to his Excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observ'd that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this Summer that the Low-Countrey Army was not drawn into the Field, so that the Prince of Orange past his time at playing at Chesse with me after dinner; or in going to Reswick with him to see his great Horses, or in making Love; in which also he used me as his Companion; yet so that I saw nothing openly more than might argue a civil Familiarity. When

* Afterwards Lord Baltimore. See an account of him in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. ii.

I was at any time from him, I did by his good leave endeavour to raise a Troop of Horse for the Duke of Savoy's Service, as having obtained a Commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low-Country: Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now Ambassador in England, telling him that if he wou'd send money my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, That he expected money in England, and that as soon as he receiv'd it, he wou'd send over so much as wou'd pay an hundred Horse: But a Peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this Horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompence.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take Shipping for England; Sir Edward Conway, who was then Governor at that place, and afterwards Secretary of State, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a Wind; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the Ship, into which as soon as I was ent'red he caused six pieces of Ordnance to be discharged for my farewell; I was scarce gone a league into the Sea, when the Wind turned contrary, and forced me back again: Returning thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before; and now after some three or four days, the Wind serving he conducted me again to the Ship and bestowed six Volleys of Ordnance

Ordinance upon me. I was now about half way to England, when a most cruel Storm arose, which tore our Sails and spent our Mafts, infomuch that the Master of our Ship gave us all for loft, as the Wind was extream high and together contrary; we were carried at last, 'thô with much difficulty back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape; faying, He believed certainly that (confidering the Weather) I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the Wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my Ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same Volleys of Shot given me, and was now scarce out of the Haven when the Wind again turned contrary, and drove me back: This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer; hiring a small Barque therefore I went to the Sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding Company I went to Brussels; in the Inn where I lay here an Ordinary was kept, to which divers Noblemen and principal Officers of the Spanish Army resorted; sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters in Italian, Spanish and French, and at last three of them one after another began to speak of King James my master, in a very scornfull manner; I thought with myself then that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their Language; but my heart burning within me, I putting off my hat arose from the table, and turning myself

myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the King my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian, Son Inglese ; I am an Englishman ; and shou'd be unworthy to live if I suffer'd these words to be spoken of the King my master ; and therewithall turning myself to those who had injured the King, I said you have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all ; those at the upper end of the table finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and to be brief made them ask the King's forgiveness, wherewith also the King's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw, tho' unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a Nunnery there ; I went thence to Calais, it was now extream foul weather, and I cou'd find no master of a Ship willing to adventure to Sea ; howbeit my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor Fisherman there whether he wou'd go, he answered his Ship was worse than any in the Haven, as being open above and without any Deck, besides that it was old, but faith he, I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my Boat is at your service.

I was now scarce out of the Haven when a high grown Sea had almost overwhelmed us, the Waves coming in very fast into our Ship, which we laded out again the best we cou'd ; notwithstanding which we expected every minute to be cast away : It pleased God yet before we were gone six leagues into the Sea to cease the Tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs, where after giving God thanks for my delivery from
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this most needles danger that ever I did run, I went to London; I had not been here ten days when a Quartan Ague seized on me, which held me for a year and an half without intermission, and a year and an half longer at Spring and Fall; the good days I had during all this sickness I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fitts as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me: It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgracefull words of Sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness cou'd not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonor, shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stept a little aside and drew my Sword in the Street, Captain Thomas Scriven a friend of mine being not far off on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side; all that saw me wondered how I cou'd go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more that I wou'd offer to fight; howsoever Emerson instead of drawing his Sword, ran away into Suffolk House, and afterwards informed the Lords of the Counsell of what I had done; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I wou'd adventure to fight being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers afterwards Duke of Buckingham, came into the King's favour: this Cavalier meeting me accidentally at the * Lady Stanop's house, came to me,

* Catherine daughter of Francis Lord Hastings, first wife of Philip Lord Stanhope, afterwards created Earl of Chesterfield.

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and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he wou'd think himself happy if by his credit with the King, he cou'd do me any service; I humbly thanked him, but told him that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I shou'd take the boldness to make my address by him.

I was no sooner perfectly recover'd of this long sickness, but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two Regiments for the service of the Venetians; while we were making ready for this journey, the King having an occasion to send an Ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper were presented to him; the King presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his Privy Counsel, who confirming his Majesty's choice, sent a Messenger to my House among Gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them; myself little knowing then the Honor intended me, askt the Messenger whether I had done any fault, that the Lords sent for me so suddainly? wishing him to tell the Lords that I was going to dinner and wou'd afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined when another Messenger was sent, this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the Lords saluted me by the name of Lord Ambassador of France; I told their Lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I

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doubted, that by their speedy sending for me, some Complaint, 'tho false, might be made against me.

My first Commission was to renew the Oath of alliance betwixt the two Crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary Ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary: I had receiv'd now about six or seven hundred Pounds, towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain Coffers in my House, when the night following about one of the Clock, I cou'd hear divers men speak and knock at the Door, in that part of the House where none did lie but myself, my wife, and her attendants, my servants being lodged in another House not far off; as soon as I heard the noise I suspected presently they came to rob me of my Money, howsoever I thought fit to rise, and go to the Window to know who they were; the first word I heard was, Darest thou come down, Welch Man? which I no sooner heard, but taking a Sword in one hand, and a little Target in the other, I did in my shirt run down the Stairs, open the Doors suddainly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their Halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass; in which disorder'd manner I drove them to the middle of the Street by the Exchange, where finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I wou'd have them pursue

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those Rogues that fled away; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I passing through the Inner Temple one day, and encountering Sir Robert Vaughan in this Countrey, some harsh words past betwixt us, which occasioned him at the perswasion of others, whom I will not nominate, to send me a Challenge; this was brought me at my House in Blackfryars by Captain Charles Price, upon a Sunday about one of the Clock in the afternoon; when I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in Devotion, nevertheless that I wou'd meet Sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my Sword, demanding whether he brought any Second with him; to which Charles Price replying that he would be in the Field with him, I told my brother Sir Henry Herbert then present thereof, who readily offering himself to be my Second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the Water-side near Chelsea.

My brother and I taking Boat presently, came to the place, where after we had staid about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to Sir Robert Vaughan's Lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily; hereupon my brother went, and after a while returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet; I attended then about an hour and an half

longer, but as he did not come yet, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I catcht cold, nevertheless that I wou'd stay there 'till Sunfet; my brother yet cou'd not bring him along, but returned himself to the place, where we stay'd together 'till half an hour after Sunfet, and then returned home.

The next day the * Earl of Worcester, by the King's Command, forbid me to receive any Message or Letter from Sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withall, that the King had given him charge to end the Business betwixt us, for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two of the Clock; at which time, after the Earl had told me, that being now made Ambassador and a publick Person, I ought not to entertain private quarrels; after which without much ado, he ended the Business betwixt Sir Robert Vaughan and myself: It was thought by some, that this wou'd make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the King for my employment in France; but Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, told me he wou'd warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a Company of Gentlemen for my Attendants, as I think ever followed an Ambassador; when some of my private Friends told me, that I was not to trust so much to

* Edward Somerset Earl of Worcester, Lord Privy Seal and Knight of the Garter.

my Pay from the Exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take Letters of Credit with me, for as much Money as I cou'd well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last Ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage a Frenchman; coming to his House I demanded whether he wou'd help me with Moneys in France, as he had done the last Ambassador; he said, he did not know me, but wou'd inform himself better who I was; departing thus from him, I went to Sigr. Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same; his Answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honor, and I had kept my word with every body; whereupon also going to his Study, gave me a Letter of Credit to one Monsieur de Langherac in Paris, for 2000 l. sterling: I then demanded what Security he expected for this Money? he said, he wou'd have nothing but my promise; I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I wou'd strive to acquit myself of it the best I cou'd.

Having now a good some of Money in my Coffers, and this Letter of Credit, I made ready for my journey; the day I went out of London I remember was the same in which Queen Ann was carried to burial, which was a sad Spectacle to all that had occasion to honor her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where being at Supper in my Inn, Monsieur Savage formerly mentioned came to me, and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a Letter of Credit, he had made one which he thought wou'd be to my contentment; I demanded to whom it was directed; he said to Monsieur Tallemant and

Rambouillet in Paris; I asked then what they were worth? he said above one hundred thousand Pounds sterling; I demanded for how much this Letter of Credit was? he said for as much as I shou'd have need of: I asked what security he required? he said nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys, I went to Dover, where I took Shipping, with a Train of an hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my Cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my Reckoning half as cheap; from whence I went to Boulogne, Montrevile, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days thence to St. Dennis near Paris, where I was met with a great Train of Coaches, that were sent to receive me, as also by the Master of the Ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon my fellow Scholar, with Monsieur Difancour, who then kept an Academy, and brought with him a brave Company of Gentlemen on great Horses, to attend me into Town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night; I was but newly settled in my Lodging, when a Secretary of the Spanish Ambassador there, told me that his Lord desired to have the first Audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning; I replied it was a day I gave wholly to Devotion, and therefore intreated him to stay 'till some more convenient time: The Secretary replied that his Master did hold it no less holy; howbeit that his
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respect to me was such, that he wou'd prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations; howsoever I put him off 'till Monday following.

Not long after I took a House in Fauxbourg St. Germain Rue Tournon, which cost me 200*l.* sterling yearly; having furnished the House richly, and lodged all my Train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French Court then was: being come hither in extream hot weather, I demanded Audience of the King and Queen, which being granted, I did assure the King of the great affection the King my master bore him, not only out of the ancient Alliance betwixt the two Crowns, but because Henry the fourth and the King my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor shou'd take care of the other's Child: I assured him further, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my Instructions, as that I shou'd do good Offices betwixt both Kingdoms; and therefore that it were a great fault in me, if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his Majesty: This being done I presented to the King a Letter of Credence from the King my master: The King assured me of a reciprocal affection to the King my master, and of my particular welcome to his Court: His words were never many as being so extream a Stutterer, that he wou'd sometimes hold his Tongue out of his Mouth a good while before he cou'd speak so much as one word; he had besides a double row of Teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit or blow his Nose, or to sweat much, 'tho he were very laborious, and almost
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indefatigable in his Exercises of Hunting and Hawking, to which he was much addicted: Neither did it hinder him 'tho he was burst in his Body, as we call it, or Herniosus; for he was noted in those Sports, 'tho often times on foot, to tire not only his Courtiers, but even his Lackies, being equally insensible, as was thought, either of heat or cold: His Understanding and natural Parts were as good as cou'd be expected, in one that was brought up in so much Ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit he acquired in time a great knowledge in Affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active Persons. He was noted to have two Qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought up, Suspicion and Dissimulation; for as ignorant Persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of stumbling; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true Principles, by which they shou'd govern both publick and private Actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert Arts, which 'tho it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous Persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in Princes, who proceeding upon foundations of Reason and Strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps: Howbeit I must observe that neither his Fears did take away his Courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his Dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private Mischiefs to his Subjects, either of one or the other Religion: His favorite was one Monsieur De Luynes, who in his non-age gained much upon the King,

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by making Hawkes fly at all little Birds in his Gardens, and by making some of those little Birds again catch Butter-flies; and had the King used him for no other purpose, he might have been tolerated; but as, when the King came to a riper age, the government of publick Affairs was drawn chiefly from his Counsells, not a few errors were committed.

The Queen-mother, Princes, and Nobles of that kingdom repined that his advices to the King shou'd be so prevalent, which also at last caused a Civil War in that Kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the King may be argued by this; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland Country, or lay upon the Sea? and thus much for the present of the King and his Favorite.

After my Audience with the King, I had another from the Queen, being sister to the King of Spain; I had little to say unto her, but some Complements on the King my master's part, but such Complements as her sex and quality were capable of. This Queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the House of Austria, and together of so mild and good a Condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as was possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the King, as far as their Cause wou'd bear. She had now been married divers years without having any Children, 'tho so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly,
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hat she shewed publickly at my Audiences that favor to me, as not only my servants but divers others took notice of it. After this my first Audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal Ministers of State, as also the Princes and Princesses, and Ladies then in the Court, and particularly the Princess of Conti, from whom I carried the Scarf formerly mentioned; and this is as much as I shall declare in this place, concerning my Negotiation with the King and State; my purpose being, if God sends me Life, to set them forth apart, as having the Copies of all my Dispatches in a great Trunk in my House in London; and considering that in the time of my stay there, there were divers Civil Wars in that Country, and that the Prince now King, passed with my Lord of Buckingham and others through France into Spain; and the Business of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, and the Battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of State and War, happened during the time of my employment; I conceive a Narration of them may be worth the seeing to them who have it not from a better hand; I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little Passages, which may serve in some part to declare the History of my Life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I cou'd concerning the expences of my House, Family and Stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course, allowing according to the manner of France, so many pounds of Beef, Mutton, Veal, and Pork, and so much also in Turkeys, Capons, Pheasants, Partridges, and all other

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Fowls, as also Pies and Tarts after the French manner, and after all this a dozen dishes of Sweet-meats every meal constantly: The ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a Dropsie, which also had kept her without Children for many years: I was constrained therefore to make use of a Steward who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man: My chief Secretary was William Boswell, now the King's Agent in the Low-Countreys: My Secretary for the French Tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the King's Agent in France: The Gentleman of my Horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a 1000 Horse in the Wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant Gentleman: Mr. Crofts was one of my principal Gentlemen, and afterwards made the King's Cup-bearer; and Thomas Caage that excellent Wit, the King's Carver: Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under Secretary, was afterwards chief Secretary to the Lord Chamberlain; and one Mr. Smith, Secretary to the Earl of Northumberland; I nominate these, and cou'd many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verifie that which I said before, concerning the Gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckly coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pontneuf, only because he was an Englishman: Nevertheless after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither, that

that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch that my Gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principall Gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my People with their Swords.

It happened one day that my cozen Oliver Herbert and George Radney, being Gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham my Butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion; it happened my cozen Oliver Herbert had for his opposite a Fencer, belonging to the Prince of Condè, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places; but as the House or Hostel of the Prince of Condè was not far off, and himself well-beloved in those quarters, the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above mentioned into my House, pursuing them within the Gates; I perceiving this at a Window, ran out with my Sword, which the People no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered; howsoever the Prince of Condè his Fencer was in that danger of his Life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which that he might do the better, I paid the said Fencer 200 Crowns, or 60 pounds sterling, for his Hurt and Cures.

The Plague now being hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the Castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of his most noble father, which he willingly granted: Removing thither I enjoyed that sweet Place and Countrey,

wherein I found not a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side of me was the Baron de Montaterre of the reformed Religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who 'thô young at that time, proved afterwards to be that brave Cavalier which all France did so much celebrate: In both their Castles likewise were Ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the cheif Perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement, when my publick occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my House in Paris, and prepared for renewing the Oath of Alliance betwixt the two Crowns, for which as I said formerly I had an extraordinary Commission; nevertheless the King put off the Business to as long a time as he well could. In the mean while Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him, no less than to his brother in the Low-Countreys. This Prince and all his Train were feasted by me at Paris with an 100 Dishes, costing as I remember, in all 100 £.

The French King at last resolving upon a day for performing the Ceremony, betwixt the two Crowns abovemention'd; myself and all my Train put ourselves into that sumptuous Equipage that I remember it cost me one way or another above 1000 £. And truly the magnificence of it was such, as a little French Book
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was presently printed thereof: This being done I resided here in the quality of an ordinary Ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular Passages concerning myself, without ent'ring yet any way into the whole frame and context of my Negotiation, reserving them, as I said before, to a particular Treatise; I spent my time much in the Visits of the Princes, Counsell of State, and great Persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my Visits: The like I did also to the chief Ambassadors there, among whom, the Venetian, Low-Countrey, Savoy, and the united Princes in Germany Ambassadors did bear me that respect, that they usually met in my House, to advise together concerning the great Affairs of that time: For as the Spaniard then was so potent that he seemed to affect an universal Monarchy, all the abovementioned Ambassadors did in one common Interest strive to oppose him: All our endeavours yet cou'd not hinder, but that he both publickly prevailed in his Attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal Ministers of State in this kingdom. I came to discover this by many ways, but by none more effectually than by the means of an Italian, who returned over by Letters of Exchange the Moneys the Spanish Ambassador received for his occasions in France; for I perceiv'd that when the said Italian was to receive any extraordinary great sum for the Spanish Ambassador's use, the whole face of Affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my Reasons, nor the Ambassadors abovementioned how valid soever cou'd prevail; tho' yet afterwards we found means together to reduce Affairs

fairs to their former train; 'till some other new great sum coming to the Spanish Ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid Ministers of State, altered all. Howbeit divers Visits past betwixt the Spanish Ambassador and myself, in one of which he told me that tho' our Interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons; for said he, it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the King his master: I disliked not his Reasons, tho' yet I cou'd not omit to tell him that I wou'd maintain the dignity of the King my master the best I cou'd; and this I said because the Spanish Ambassador had taken place of the English in the time of Henry the fourth in this fashion, they both meeting in an Anti-chamber to the Secretary of State, the Spanish Ambassador leaning to the Wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English Ambassador, said publickly, I hold this place in the right of the King my master, which small punctilio being not resented by our Ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to bragg that he had taken the hand from our Ambassador. This made me more watchfull to regain the honor which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein, so that tho' the Ambassador in his Visits often repeated the words abovementioned, being in Spanish, *Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo*; let every man do the best he can for his master; I attended the occasion to right my master; it happened one day that both of us going to the French King for our several Affairs, the Spanish Ambassador between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his Coach, with a Train of about 16 or 18 persons

sons on horseback, I following him in my Coach with about 10 or 12 Horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I halted to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some Affront like unto that our former Ambassador received; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honor of the King my master some way or other, demanding further whether they wou'd assist me? which they promising, I bid the Coachman drive on; the Spanish Ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a Gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute me, which I accepting, the Gentleman returned to the Ambassador, who alighting from his Coach attended me in the middle of the Highway, which being perceiv'd by me I alighted also, when some extravagant Complements having past betwixt us, the Spanish Ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, upon pretence of making water, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I past by in my Coach, which being observed by me I left my Coach, and getting upon a spare Horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and telling him aloud, that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his Coach, for I must ride that way: the Spanish Ambassador who understood me well, went to his Coach grumbling and discontented, 'tho yet neither he nor his Train did any more than look one upon another in a confused manner; my Coach this while passing by the Ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my Horse and got into it: It hap'ned this while, that one
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of my Coach Horses having lost a Shoe, I thought fit to stay at a Smith's Forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this Shoe cou'd not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish Ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have past us, but that he thought I wou'd give him another Affront; attending therefore the Smith's leasure, he stayed in the Highway to our no little admiration, untill my Horse was shoed; we continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish Ambassador following us still at a good distance.

I shou'd scarce have mentioned this Passage, but that the Spaniards do so much stand upon their Pundonores; for confirming whereof I have thought fit to remember the Answer a Spanish Ambassador made to Philip the Second King of Spain, who finding fault with him for neglecting a Business of great Importance in Italy, because he cou'd not agree with the French Ambassador about some such Pundonore as this, said to him, Como a dexado una Cosa di importancia per una cerimonia! How have you left a Business of importance for a ceremony! The Ambassador boldly replied to his master, Como por una cerimonia? Vuestra Magesta misma no es sino una cerimonia: How, for a ceremony? Your Majesty's self is but a ceremony.

Howsoever the Spanish Ambassador taking no notice publicly of the Advantage I had of him herein, dissembled it as I heard 'till he cou'd find some fit occasion to resent this Passage, which yet he never did to this day.

Among the Visits I render'd to the Grandees of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave General the Duke of Lesdigueres, who was now grown very old and deaf; his first words to me were, Monsieur you must do me the honor to speak high, for I am deaf; my answer to him was, You was born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have Ears to hear you: This Complement took him much, and indeed I have a Manuscript of his Military Precepts and Observations, which I value at a great Price.

I shall relate now some things concerning my self, which 'tho they may seem scarce credible yet before God are true: I had been now in France about a year and an half when my Tylour, Andrew Henly of Basil, who now lives in Blackfryars, demanded of me half a yard of Satin to make me a Suit more than I was accustomed to give, of which I required a Reason, saying, I was not fatter now than when I came to France; he answered, it was true, but you are taller; whereunto when I wou'd give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just places; I told him I knew not how this hap'ned, but howsoever he shou'd have half a yard more, and that when I came into England I wou'd clear the doubt, for a little before my departure thence, I remember William Earl of Pembroke and myself did measure heights together at the request of the Countess of Bedford, and he was then higher than I by about the breadth of my little finger; at my return therefore into England I measured again with the same Earl, and to both our great wonders found my-

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self taller than he by the breadth of a little finger; which growth of mine I cou'd attribute to no other cause but to my Quartan Ague formerly mentioned, which when it quitted me, left me in a more perfect health than I formerly enjoyed, and indeed disposed me to some follies which I afterwards repented, and do still repent of; but as my wife refused to come over, and my Temptations were great, I hope the faults I committed are the more pardonable; howsoever I can say truly, that whether in France or England, I was never in a Bawdyhouse, nor used my Pleasures intemperately, and much less did accompany them with that Diffimulation and Falsehood which is commonly found in men addicted to love women: To conclude this Passage, which I unwillingly mention, I must protest again before God, that I never delighted in that or any other Sin, and that if I transgressed sometimes in this kind, it was to avoid a greater Ill; for certainly if I had been provided with a lawful remedy, I shou'd have fallen into no extravagancy: I cou'd extenuate my fault by telling circumstances which wou'd have operated I doubt upon the chastest of mankind, but I forbear, those things being not fit to be spoken of; for tho' the Philosophers have accounted this act to be *Inter honesta factu*, where neither injury nor violence was offered, yet they ever reckoned it among the *Turpia dictu*; I shall therefore only tell some other things alike strange of myself.

I weighed myself in Ballances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir John Davers Knight, and Richard Griffiths

siths now living can witness, with both whom I have been weighed; I had also, and have still a pulse on the Crown of my Head; it is well known to those that wait in my Chamber, that the Shirts, Waistcoats, and other Garments I wear next my Body are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my Breath above others, before I used to take Tobacco, which towards my latter time I was forced to take against certain Rheumes and Catarres that trouble me, which yet did not taint my Breath for any long time; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, 'tho yet so subject to Catarres, that I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, tho otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the King my master, being to hold all good Intelligence betwixt both Crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing, and my pains not great, France having no design at that time upon England, and King James being that pacifick Prince all the world knew. And thus besides the times I spent in Treaties and Negotiations, I had either with the Ministers of State in France, or foreign Ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time not only for my Book but for Visits to divers Grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some Intelligence of the Affairs of that kingdom and civil Conversation, for which their free, generous and cheerful Company was no little motive; persons of all quality being so addicted to have mutual Entertainment with each

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other, that in calme Weather one might find all the noble and good Company in Paris of both sexes, either in the Garden of the Tuilleries or in the Park of Bois de Vincennes, they thinking it almost an Incivility to refuse their Presence and free Discourse to any who were capable of coming to those places, either under the recommendation of good Parts, or but so much as handsome Cloths and a good Equipage; when foul Weather was, they spent their time in Visits at each others Houses, where they interchanged civil Discourses, or heard Musick, or fell to Dancing, using according to the manner of that Countrey all the reasonable Liberties they cou'd with their Honor; while their manner was either in the Garden of the Tuilleries or elsewhere, if any one discoursing with a Lady did see some other of good fashion approach to her, he wou'd leave her and go to some other Lady, he who conversed with her at that time quitting her also and going to some other, that so Addresses might be made equal and free to all without scruple on any part, neither was exception made or quarrel begun upon these terms.

It hap'ned one day that I being ready to return from the Tuilleries, about eight of the Clock in the Summer, with Intention to write a Dispatch to the King about some Intelligence I had received there, the Queen attended with her principal Ladies, without so much as one Cavalier, did enter the Garden; I staid on one side of an Alley there to do my Reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my House, when the Queen perceiving me staid awhile as if she expected I shou'd attend.

attend her, but as I stirred not more than to give her that great Respect I owed her, the Princess of Conti who was next called me to her, and said I must go along with her, but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present Dispatch which I was to make unto his Majesty, the Dutchess of Antador who followed her came to me, and said I must not refuse her, whereupon leading her by her arms according to the manner of that Countrey, the Princess of Conti offended that I had denied her that Civility, which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the Dutchess, but the Queen then also staying I left the Princess, and with all due Humility, went to the Queen and led her by the arms, walking thus to a place in the Garden where some Orange Trees grew, and here discoursing with her Majesty bare-headed, some small shot fell on both our heads; the occasion whereof was this, the King being in the Garden and shooting at a Bird in the Air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us; the Queen was much startled herewith, when I coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a Gardiner to the King, to tell him that her Majesty was there, and that he shou'd shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the Nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him came to the Queen and Ladies, among whom was *Monsieur le Grand, who finding the Queen still discoursing with

* Roger Duc de Bellegarde, grand Escuyer.

me stole behind her, and letting fall gently some Comfits he had in his pocket upon the Queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again; turning here-upon to Monsieur le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a Courtier as he was cou'd find no means to entertain Ladies but by making them afraid; but the Queen shortly after returning to her Lodging, I took my Leave of her and came home: All which Passage I have thought fit to set down, the Accident above-mentioned being so strange, that it can hardly be parellel'd.

It fell out one day that the Prince of Condè coming to my House, some Speech happ'ned concerning the King my master, in whom thô he acknowledged much Learning, Knowledge, Clemency, and divers other Vertues, yet he said he had heard that the King was much given to Cursing; I answered that it was out of his Gentleness; but the Prince demanding how Cursing cou'd be a Gentleness? I replied yes, for thô he cou'd punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish; which defence of the King my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French Court.

* Monsieur de Luines continuing still the King's Favorite, advised him to war against his Subjects of the reform'd Religion in France; saying he wou'd neither be a great Prince as long as he suffered so puissant a Party to remain within his Domi-

* Charles Albret Duc of Luynes.

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nions, nor cou'd justly stile himself the most Christian King, as long as he permitted such Hereticks to be in that great number they were, or to hold those strong places which by publick Edict were assigned to them, and therefore that he shou'd extirpate them as the Spaniards had done the Moors, who are all banished into other Countreys, as we may find in their Histories: This Counsell tho' approved by the young King was yet disliked by other grave and wise Persons about him, and particularly by the Chancellor Sillery and the President Jannin, who thought better to have a Peace which had two Religions, than a War that had none. Howbeit the Design of Luines was applauded, not only by the Jesuit Party in France, but by some Princes and other martial Persons, insomuch that the *Duke of Guise coming to see me one day, said that they shou'd never be happy in France, 'till those of the Religion were rooted out; I answer'd that I wonder'd to hear him say so; and the Duke demanding why, I replied that whensoever those of the Religion were put down, the turn of the great Persons, and Governors of Provinces of that kingdom would be next; and that tho' the present King were a good Prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon Princes might prove Tyrants when they had nothing to fear; which Speech of mine was fatal, since those of the Religion were no sooner reduced into that weak condition in which now they are, but the Governors of Provinces were brought lower, and curbed much in their power and authority, and the Duke

*Charles, son of Henry Duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois.

of Guise first of them all, so that I doubt not but my words were well remembered. Howsoever the War now went on with much fervor, neither cou'd I diswade it, 'tho' using according to the Instructions I had from the King my master many Arguments for that purpose. I was told often, that if the Reformation in France had been like that in England, where they observed we retained the Hierarchy together with decent Rites and Ceremonies in the Church, as also holidays in the memory of Saints, Musick in Churches, and divers other Testimonies, both of glorifying God and giving honor and reward to Learning, they cou'd much better have tolerated it; but such a rash and violent Reformation as theirs was, ought by no means to be approved; whereunto I answered, that tho' the Causes of departing from the Church of Rome were taught and delivered by many sober and modest persons, yet that the Reformation in great part was acted by the common people, whereas ours began at the Prince of State, and therefore was more moderate; which Reason I found did not displease them: I added further then, that the reform'd Religion in France wou'd easily enough admit an Hierarchy, if they had sufficient means among them to maintain it, and that if their Churches were as fair as those which the Roman Catholicks had, they wou'd use the more decent sorts of Rites and Ceremonies, and together like well of Organs and Quires of Singers, rather than make a Breach or Schism on that occasion; as for holidays I doubted not but the principal Persons, and Ministers of their Religion wou'd approve it much better than the common People, who being Labourers and Artizens for the most part, had the advantages for many more days than the
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Roman Catholicks for getting their living; howsoever that those of the Religion had been good Cautions to make the Roman Catholick Priests if not better, yet at least more wary in their Lives and Actions; it being evident that since the Reformation began among those of the Religion, the Roman Catholicks had divers ways reformed themselves, and abated not only much of their power they usurped over Laics, but were more pious and continent than formerly. Lastly that those of the Religion acknowledged solely the King's Authority in government of all Affairs, whereas the other side held the regal Power, not only inferior in divers points, but subordinate to the Papal, nothing of which yet served to divert Monsieur de Luines, or the King from their Resolutions.

The King having now assembled an Army, and made some progress against those of the Religion, I had Instruction sent me from the King my master to mediate a Peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his Majesty's Care of them of the Religion; and together to let the French King know, that he would not permit their total ruin and exterpation. The King was now going to lay Siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly recovered of a Fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able Physitians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal Grantees of France, and particularly the Princess of Conti, who would sit by my Bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, tho yet I was brought so low, that I could scarce return any thing by way of answer but thanks; the com-

mand yet which I received from the King my master quickened me, insomuch that by slow degrees I went into my Coach together with my Train towards St. Jean d'Angely; being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances that the effect of my Negotiation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither: howbeit having obtained an audience from the King, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other Answer but that I shou'd go to Monsieur de Luines, by whom I shou'd know his Majesty's Intention. Repairing thus to him I did find outwardly good reception, tho yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavors for those of the Religion; for hiding a Gentleman called Monsieur Arnaud behind the Hangings in his Chamber, who was then of the Religion, but had promised a revolt to the King's side; this Gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the Earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the Religion, how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the Answers which Monsieur de Luines made me; sitting thus in a Chair before Monsieur de Luines, he demanded the effect of my Business; I answered that the King my master commanded me to mediate a Peace betwixt his Majesty and his Subjects of the Religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal Terms which might stand with the honor of France and the good Intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms; to which he returned this rude Answer only, What hath the King your master to do with our Actions? Why doth he meddle with our Affairs? My Reply was, That the King
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my master ought not to give an Account of the reason which induced him hereunto, and for me it was enough to obey him; howbeit if he did ask me in more gentle Terms, I shou'd do the best I cou'd to give him satisfaction; to which thô he answered no more than the word *Bien*, or well, I pursuing my Instruction said, That the King my master according to the mutual Stipulation betwixt Henry the fourth and himself, that the survivor of either of them shou'd procure the Tranquility and Peace of the other's Estate, had sent this message, and that he had not only testified this his pious Inclination heretofore in the late Civil Wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to show how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom; besides he hoped that when Peace was established here, that the French King might be the more easily disposed to assist the Palatine, who was an ancient Friend and Allie of the French Crown. His Reply to this was, We will have none of your Advices; whereupon I said, That I took those words for an Answer, and was sorry only that they did not understand sufficiently the Affection and Good-will of the King my master; and since they rejected it upon those Terms, I had in charge to tell him, That we knew very well what we had to do. Luines seeming offended herewith, said, *Nous ne vous craignons pas*, or we are not afraid of you; I replied hereupon, That if you had said you had not loved us, I should have believed you, but shou'd have returned you another Answer; in the mean while that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was that we knew what we had to do. This 'thô somewhat less than was in my Instructions, so angered him, that

in much passion he said, Par Dieu si vous n'êtes Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traitteroie d'un' autre sorte; by God if you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I wou'd use you after another fashion. My Answer was, That as I was an Ambassador, so I was also a Gentleman, and therewithall laying my hand upon the hilt of my Sword, told him, there was that which shou'd make him an Answer, and so arose from my Chair; to which Monsieur de Luines made no Reply, but arising likewise from his Chair offered civilly to accompany me to the Door; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use Ceremony, after so rude an Entertainment, I departed from him; from thence returning to my Lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French Discipline in making approaches to Towns; at what time I remember, that going in my Coach within reach of Cannon, those in the Town imagining me to be an Enemy, made many Shots against me, which so affrighted my Coachman that he durst drive no farther, whereupon alighting I bid him put the Horses out of danger; and notwithstanding many more Shots made against me, went on foot to the Trenches, where one Seaton a Scotchman conducting me, shewed me their Works, in which I found little differing from the Low Countrey manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the King being at Cognac, the City of St. Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him; coming thus to a Village not far from Cognac, about ten of the Clock at night, I found all the Lodgings possessed by Souldiers, so that alighting in the Market-place, I sent my Servants to the Inns to get some Provision, who bring-

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ing me only six Rye Loaves, which I was doubtfull whether I shou'd bestow on myself and Company, or on my Horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French Nobleman of the Religion, attended with a brave Train, hearing of my being there, offer'd me Lodging in his Castle near adjoyning: I told him it was a great Courtesie at that time, yet I cou'd not with my Honor accept it, since I knew it wou'd indanger him, my Business to those Parts being in favour of those of the Religion, and the chief Ministers of State in France being jealous of my holding Intelligence with him; howbeit if he wou'd procure me Lodging in the Town, I should take it kindly: Whereupon sending his Servants round about the Town, he found at last in the House of one of his Tenants a Chamber, to which when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little Accommodation for myself and Horses, I desired him to depart to his Lodgings, he being then in a place, which his Enemies the King's Souldiers had possessed: All which was not so silently carried but that the said Nobleman was accused afterwards at the French Court upon suspicion of holding Correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Mareschall de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luines who was the King's Favorite, desiring me withall to advise what I had to do: I told him I was in a place of Surety wheresoever I had my Sword by my side, and that I intended to demand Audience of the King; which also being obtained, I found not so cold

cold a reception as I thought to meet with ; infomuch that I parted with his Majesty to all outward appearance in very good Terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those Ministers of State there and Noblemen, who either envied the Greatness or loved not the Insolencies of Monsieur de Luines ; by whom also I was told, that the said Luines had intended to send a brother of his into England with an Ambassy, the effect whereof shou'd be chiefly to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repeal'd ; and that he intended to relate the Passages betwixt us at St. Jean d'Angely in a much different manner from that I reported, and that he wou'd charge me with giving the first Offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them, my relation of the Business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I wou'd justifie it with my Sword, at which they being nothing scandalized, wished me good fortune.

The Ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge Train in a sumptuous manner, and an Accusation fram'd against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my Merchants, who had assisted me now with 3 or 4000 *l.* more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to Court, the Duke of Buckingham who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of the objections represented by the French Ambassador ; to which when I had made my defence in the manner

manner above related, I added that I was ready to make good all that I had said with my Sword; and shortly after I did in the presence of his Majesty and the Duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a Trumpet to Monsieur de Luines, to offer him the Combate upon terms that past betwixt us; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they wou'd take my offer into consideration. Howsoever notice being publickly taken of this my desire, much occasion of Speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favouring me, but the Duke of Luines death following shortly after, the Business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go as finding much difficulty to obtain the Moneys due to me from the Exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own Revenues, to satisfy my Creditors in France. The * Earl of Carlisle this while being imployed extraordinary Ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the Passages betwixt Monsieur de Luines and myself, Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the Hangings as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch that the King my master was well satisfied of my Truth.

Having by this time cleared all my Debts, when demanding new Instructions from the King my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this Message, That his Majesty had that experience of my Abilities and Fidelity, that he wou'd give me no Instruc-

* James Hay Earl of Carlisle, Knight of the Garter, Master of the great Wardrobe, and Ambassador in Germany and France.

tions,

tions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I wou'd proceed with that Circumspection, as I shou'd be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions what was fit to be done, than that I shou'd need to attend directions from hence, which besides that they wou'd be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great Affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of Christendom, and that these things therefore must be left to my Vigilance, Prudence, and Fidelity: Whereupon I told his Lordship that I took this as a singular expression of the Trust his Majesty reposed in me; howbeit that I desired his Lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a greater Power and Latitude to err; and that I durst not trust my Judgment so far as that I wou'd presume to answer for all Events, in such factious and turbulent Times, and therefore again did humbly desire new Instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The Earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the King, brought me yet no other Answer back than that I formerly mention'd, and that his Majesty did so much confide in me, that he wou'd limit me with no other Instructions, but refer all to my Discretion, promising together that if Matters proceeded not as well as might be wisht, he wou'd attribute the Default to any thing rather than to my not performing my Duty.

Finding his Majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him and my Friends at Court, and went to Monsieur Savage, when demanding of him new Letters of Credit, his Answer was, He cou'd not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited

mitted sum expressed there, but that I shou'd have as much as I needed; to which thô I answered that I had paid all, yet as Monsieur Savage replied that I had not paid it at the time agreed on, he said he cou'd furnish me with a Letter only for three thousand Pounds, and nevertheless that he was confident I shou'd have more if I required it, which I found true, for I took up afterwards upon my Credit there as much more, as made in the whole five or six thousand Pounds.

Coming thus to Paris I found myself welcomed by all the principal Persons, no body that I found there being either offended with the Passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luines, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the Queen's Majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him: Whereupon also I cannot but remember this Passage, that in an Audience I had one day from the Queen, I demanded of her how far she wou'd have assisted me with her good Offices against Luines? She replied, that what Cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they wou'd have made her to be of his side; to which I answered in Spanish, No ay feurce por las a Reynas; there is no force for Queens; at which she smiled.

And now I began to proceed in all publick Affairs according to the Liberty with which my master was pleased to honor me, confining myself to no Rules but those of my own Discretion. My Negotiations in the mean while proving so successfull, that

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during the remainder of my stay there, his Majesty receiv'd much satisfaction concerning my Carriage, as finding I had preserved his Honor and Interest in all great Affairs then emergent in France, Germany, and other parts of Christendom; which Work being of great concernment I found the easier, that his Majesties Ambassadors and Agents every where gave me perfect Intelligence of all that happened within their Precincts; insomuch that from Sir Henry Wotton his Majesty's Ambassador at Venice, who was a learned and witty Gentleman, I received all the News of Italy; as also from Sir Isaak Wake, who did more particularly acquaint me with the Business of Savoy, * Valentia, and Switzerland; from Sir Francis Netherfole his Majesty's Agent in Germany, and more particularly with the united Princes there, on the behalf of his son in law, the Palatine or King of Bohemia, I receiv'd all the News of Germany; from Sir Dudley Carlton his Majesty's Ambassador in the Low-Countrys, I receiv'd Intelligence concerning all the Affairs of that State; and from Mr. William Trumball his Majesty's Agent at Brussels, all the Affairs on that side; and lastly, from Sir Walter Aston his Majesty's Ambassador in Spain, and after him from the Earl of Bristol and Lord Cottington, I had Intelligence from the Spanish Court; out of all whose relations being compared together, I found Matter enough to direct my Judgment in all publick Proceedings: Besides in Paris I had the chief Intelligence which came to either Monsieur de Langherac, the Low Countrey Ambassador,

* The Valteline.

or Monsieur Postek Agent for the united Princes in Germany, and Sigr. Contarini Ambassador for Venice, and Sigr. Guiscardi my particular Friend, Agent for Mantoua, and Monsieur Guerin Agent for the Palatine or King of Bohemia, and Monsieur Villers for the Suisse, and Monsieur Ainorant Agent for Geneva, by whose means, upon the resultance of the several Advertisements given me, I found what I had to do.

The Wars in Germany were now hot, when several French Gentlemen came to me for Recommendations to the Queen of Bohemia, whose Service they desired to advance, which also I performed as effectually as I cou'd; howbeit as after the Battle of Prague, the Imperial Side seemed wholly to prevail, these Gentlemen had not the satisfaction expected. About this time the Duke de Crouy, imployed from Brussels to the French Court, coming to see me, said by way of Rhodomontade, as thô he wou'd not speak of our Isles, yet he saw all the rest of the World must bow under the Spaniard; to which I answered, God be thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they shou'd be but the same which you are now; which Speech of mine being afterwards, I know not how divulged, was much applauded by the French, as believing I intended that other Countreys shou'd be but under the same severe Government to which the Duke of Crouy and those within the Spanish Dominions were subject.

It hap'ned one day that the Agent from Bruffels, and Ambaffador from the Low Countreys, came to fee me immediately one after the other, to whom I faid familiarly, that I thought that the Inhabitants of the parts of the feventeen Provinces, which were under the Spaniards, might be compared to Horfes in a Stable, which as they were finely curried, drest and fed, fo they were well ridden alfo, spurred, and galled: And that I thought the Low Countrey men were like to Horfes at Grafs, which thô they wanted fo good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they wou'd; which freedom of mine difpleafed neither: Or if the Low Country Ambaffador did think I had fpoken a little too fharpely, I pleafed him afterwards, when continuing my Difcourfe, I told him that the States of the United Provinces had within a narrow room fhut up fo much warlike Provision both by Sea and Land, and together demonftrated fuch Courage upon all occafions, that it feemed they had more need of Enemies than of Friends, which Compliment I found did pleafe him.

About this time the French being jealous that the King my mafter wou'd match the Prince his Son with the King of Spain's Sifter, and together relinquish his Alliance with France, myfelf who did endeavour nothing more than to hold all good Intelligence betwixt the two Crowns, had enough to do. The Count de Gondomor paffing now from Spain into England came to fee me at Paris, about ten of the Clock in the morning, when after fome Complements, he told me that he was to go towards
England

England the next morning, and that he desired my Coach to accompany him out of Town; I told him after a free and merry manner he shou'd not have my Coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed Coaches, the Pope's Nuntio, the Emperor's Ambassador, the Duke of Bavaria's Agent, and others having Coaches enough to furnish him, but because he wou'd put a Jealousie betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to theirs: Gondomor then looking merrily upon me, said, I will dine with you yet; I told him by his good favor he shou'd not dine with me at that time, and that when I wou'd entertain the Ambassador of so great a King as his, it shou'd not be upon my Ordinary, but that I wou'd make him a Feast worthy of so great a Person; howbeit that he might see after what manner I lived, I desired some of my Gentlemen to bring his Gentlemen into the Kitchen, where after my usual manner were three Spits full of Meat, divers Pots of boyled Meat, and an Oven with store of Pyes in it, and a Dreffer Board covered with all manner of good Fowle, and some Tarts, Pans with Tarts in them after the French manner; after which being conducted to another Room, they were shewed a Dozen or sixteen Dishes of Sweetmeats, all which was but the ordinary allowance for my Table: The Spaniards returning now to Gondomor told him what good Cheer they found, notwithstanding which I told Gondomor again that I desired to be excused, if I thought this Dinner unworthy of him, and that when occasion were, I shou'd entertain him after a much better manner; Gondomor hereupon coming near me, said, he

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esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a Trick upon me, which he found I had discover'd, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a Trick put upon him under shew of Civility; and that I ever shou'd find him my Friend, and wou'd do me all the good Offices he cou'd in England, which also he really perform'd, as the Duke of Lenox and the Earle of Pembroke confirm'd to me; Gondomor saying to them, that I was a man fit for Imployment, and that he thought Englishmen, tho otherwise able Persons, knew not how to make a denial handsomely, which yet I had done.

This Gondomor being an able Person, and dexterous in his Negotiations, had so prevailed with King James that his Majesty resolved to pursue his Treaty with Spain, and for that purpose to send his son Prince Charles in person to conclude the Match, when after some debate whether he shou'd go in a publick or private manner, it was at last resolved, that he attended with the Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington his Secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, Gentleman of the Horse to the Marquis, shou'd pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid; these five passing, tho not without some difficulty, from Dover to Bulloigne, where taking Post Horses they came to Paris, and lodged at an Inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they shou'd send for me to attend them; after some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since (as one there objected)

jected) if I came alone in the quality of a private Person, I must go on foot through the Streets, and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who wou'd discover whither my private visit tended, besides that those in the Inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner; on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual Train, the Gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the Prince and Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the Prince's safety, who endeavour'd to keep his Journey as secret as possible: Howbeit the Prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French Court and City of Paris, without that any body did know his person, but a Maid that had sold Linen heretofore in London, who seeing him pass by, said, certainly this is the Prince of Wales, but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him: The next day after they took Post Horses, and held their way towards Bayone, a City frontier to Spain.

The first notice that came to me was by one Andrews a Scotchman, who coming late the night preceding their departure, demanded whether I had seen the Prince? When I demanded what Prince? for said I the Prince of Conde is yet in Italy, he told me the Prince of Wales, which yet I could not believe easily, untill with many Oaths he affirmed the Prince was in France, and that he had charge to follow his Highness, desiring me in the mean while, on the part of the King my master, to
serve

serve his Passage the best I cou'd. This made me rise very early the next morning, and go to Monsieur Puisieux Principal Secretary of State, to demand present Audience; Puisieux here-upon intreated me to stay an hour since he was in bed, and had some earnest Business to dispatch for the King his master as soon as he was ready; I returned answer, that I cou'd not stay a minute, and that I desired I might come to his Bedside; this made Puisieux rise and put on his Gown only, and so came to the Chamber, where I attended him. His first words to me were, I know your Business as well as you, your Prince is departed this morning Post to Spain; adding further, that I cou'd demand nothing for the security of his Passage, but it shou'd be presently granted, concluding with these very words, Vous serez servi au point nommé, or you shall be served in any particular you can name. I told him that his free offer had prevented the request I intended to make, and that because he was so principal a minister of State I doubted not but what he had so nobly promised, he would see punctually performed; as for the security of his Passage, that I did not see what I cou'd demand more, than that he wou'd suffer him quietly to hold his way, without sending after or interrupting him. He replied that the Prince shou'd not be interrupted, tho yet he cou'd do no less than send to know what success the Prince had in his journey. I was no sooner return'd out of his Chamber, but I dispatch't a Letter by Post to the Prince, to desire him to make all the hast he cou'd out of France, and not to treat with any of the Religion in the way, since his being at Paris was known,
and

and that tho the French Secretary had promised he shou'd not be interrupted, yet that they wou'd send after his Highness, and when he gave any occasion of suspicion, might perchance detain him. The Prince after some examination at Bayone (which the Governor thereof did afterwards particularly relate to me confessing that he did not know who the Prince was) held his way on to Madrid, where he and all his Company safely arrived. Many of the Nobility and others of the English Court being now desirous to see the Prince, did pass through France to Spain, taking my House still in their way, by whom I acquainted his Highness in Spain how much it grieved me that I had not seen his Highness when he was in Paris; which occasioned his Highness afterwards to write a Letter to me, wholly with his own Hand, and subscribe his Name your Friend CHARLES, in which he did abundantly satisfy all the Unkindness I might conceive on this occasion.

I shall not enter into a Narration of the Passages occurring in the Spanish Court, upon his Highness's arrival thither, tho they were well known to me for the most part, by the Information the French Queen was pleased to give me, who among other things, told me that her Sister did wish well unto the Prince. I had from her also Intelligence of certain Messages sent from Spain to the Pope, and the Pope's Messages to them; whereof, by her permission, I did afterwards inform his Highness. Many Judgments were now made concerning the Event, which this Treaty of Marriage was likely to have; the Duke of

Savoy said that the Prince's Journey thither was, *Un tiro di quelli Cavalieri antichi che andavano così per il Mondo a disfare li incanti*; that it was a Trick of those ancient Knight Errands, who went up and down the World after that manner to undoe Inchantments; for as that Duke did believe that the Spaniard did intend finally to bestow her on the Imperial House, he conceiv'd that he did only entertain the Treaty with England, because he might avert the King my master from treating in any other place, and particularly in France; howbeit by the Intelligence I received in Paris, which I am confident was very good, I am assured the Spaniard meant really at that time, tho' how the Match was broken, I list not here to relate, it being a more perplext and secret Business than I am willing to insert into the Narration of my Life.

New Propositions being now made, and other Counsells thereupon given, the Prince taking his leave of the Spanish Court came to St. Andrew's in Spain, where shipping himself with his Train arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October 1623; the News whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the Prince in their Country, nor done any thing to break his Match elsewhere; I answered that the Prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs could be put upon him; and as for Violence, I thought the Spaniard durst not offer it.

The War against those of the Religion continuing in France, Pere Segnerand, Confessor to the King, made a Sermon before his Majesty upon the Text, That we shou'd forgive our Enemies, upon which Argument having said many good Things, he at last distinguished Forgiveness, and said, We were indeed to forgive our Enemies but not the Enemies of God, such as were Hereticks, and particularly those of the Religion; and that his Majesty, as the most Christian King, ought to extirpate them wheresoever they cou'd be found. This particular being related to me, I thought fit to go to the Queen Mother without further Ceremony, for she gave me leave to come to her Chamber whensoever I wou'd, without demanding Audience, and to tell her, that tho I did not usually intermeddle with Matters handled within their Pulpits, yet because Pere Segnerand, who had the charge of the King's Conscience, had spoken so violently against those of the Religion, that his Doctrine was not limited only to France, but might extend itself in its Consequences beyond the Seas, even to the Dominions of the King my master; I cou'd not but think it very unreasonable, and the rather, that as her Majesty well knew, that a Treaty of Marriage betwixt our Prince and the Princess her Daughter was now began, for which reason I cou'd do no less than humbly desire that such Doctrines as these henceforth might be silenced, by some discreet Admonition she might please to give to Pere Segnerand, or others that might speak to this purpose. The Queen tho she seemed very willingly to hear me, yet handled the Business so, that Pere Segnerand was together inform'd who had made this

Complaint against him, whereupon also he was so distemper'd, that by one Monsieur Gaellac a Provencall, his own Countryman, he sent me this Message; That he knew well who had accused him to her Majesty, and that he was sensible thereof, that he wisht me to be assured, that wheresoever I was in the World he wou'd hinder my Fortune. The Answer I returned by Monsieur Gaellac was, That nothing in all France but a Fryar or a Woman durst have sent me such a Message.

Shortly after this, coming again to the Queen Mother, I told her that what I said concerning Pere Segnerand, was spoken with a good Intention, and that my words were now discovered to him in that manner, that he sent me a very affronting Message, adding after a merry fashion these words, that I thought Segnerand so malicious, that his Malice was beyond the Malice of Women: the Queen being a little startled hereat, sayed, A moy Femme et parler ainsi? To me a Woman and say so? I replied gently, Je parle a vôtre Majestè comme Reyne et non pas comme Femme; I speak to your Majesty as a Queen and not as a Woman, and so took my leave of her. What Pere Segnerand did afterwards, in way of performing his Threat I know not; but sure I am, that had I been ambitious of worldly Greatness, I might have often remembered his words; thô as I ever loved my Book and a private Life, more than any busie Preferments, I did frustrate, and render vain his greatest Power to hurt me.

My

My book *De Veritate prout distinguitur à Revelatione verisimili, possibili, et à falso*, having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal Parts, was about this time finished; all the spare hours which I cou'd get from my Visits and Negotiations, being imployed to perfect this Work, which was no sooner done, but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius that great Scholar, who having escaped his Prison in the Low Countreys, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and Monsieur * Tieleners also, one of the greatest Scholars of his time, who after they had perused it, and given it more Commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it; howbeit as the frame of my whole Book was so different from any thing which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the Authority of all that had written formerly, concerning the Method of finding out Truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general Censure, concerning the whole Argument of my Book; I must confess it did not a little ani-

* In the little book of Lord Herbert's Verses, published after his Death, is a Copy addressed to *Tilenus after the fatal Defluxion upon my Arm*. Daniel Tilenus was a Theologic Writer of that time. He wrote about Antichrist, and Animadversions on the Synod of Dort: Some of his Works were published at Paris. He was however a Silesian, and his true name might be Tieleners, latinized into Tilenus according to the pedantry of that time; as Groot was called Grotius, the similitude of whose Studies might well connect him with Tieleners.

mate me, that the two great Persons abovementioned did so highly value it, yet as I knew it wou'd meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it: Being thus doubtfull in my Chamber, one fair day in the Summer, my Casement being opened towards the South, the Sun shining clear and no Wind stirring, I took my book De Veritate in my Hand, and kneeling on my Knees devoutly said these words,

O Thou Eternal God, Author of the Light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward Illuminations, I do beseech Thee of thy infinite Goodness to pardon a greater Request than a Sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish This Book De Veritate; if it be for thy Glory, I beseech thee give me some Sign from Heaven; if not I shall suppress it.

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud thō yet gentle Noise came from the Heavens (for it was like nothing on Earth) which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my Petition as granted, and that I had the Sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my Book: This (how strange soever it may seem) I protest before the Eternal God is true, neither am I any way superstitiously deceived herein, since I did not only clearly hear the Noise, but in the serenest Skye that ever I saw, being without all Cloud, did to my thinking see the place from whence it came.

And

And now I sent my Book to be printed in Paris, at my own Cost and Charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy Readers of it; thô afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime Scholars of Europe, but was sent to not only from the nearest but furthest parts of Christendome, to desire the sight of my Book, for which they promised any thing I shou'd desire by way of return, but hereof more amply in its place.

The Treaty of a Match with France continuing still, it was thought fit for the concluding thereof, that the Earle of Carlisle and the Earle of Holland should be sent Extraordinary Ambassadors to France.

F I N I S.







Herbert of Cherbury, Edward Herbert,

The life of Edward Lord Herbert

London 1770

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